



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge—Qur'an]

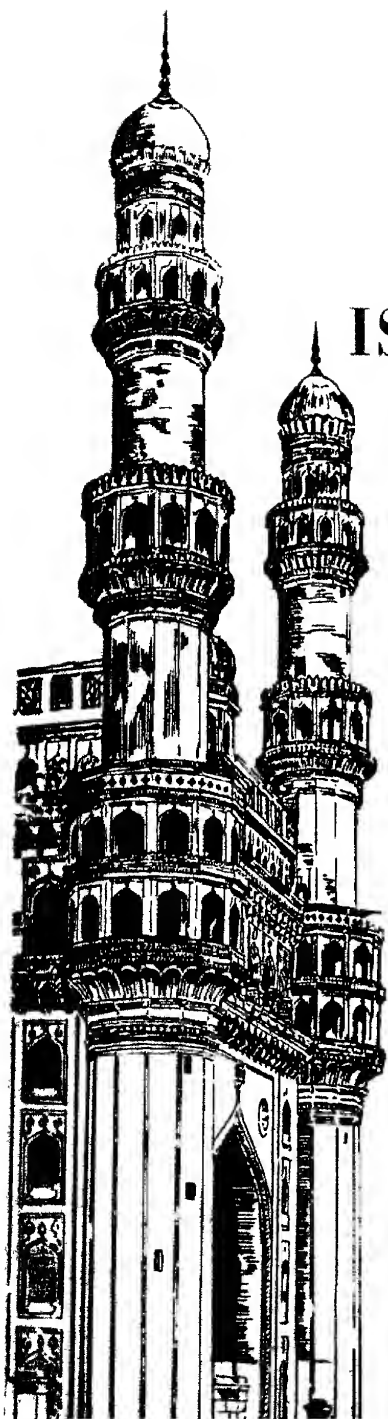
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INDEX

CONTENTS

- i. Analysis of subjects.
- ii. Index to authors.
- iii. Index to persons, tribes, and places together
with references to sciences, cultural
activities, etc.

ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS

ARCHITECTURE

	NUMBER	PAGE
The Tomb of I'timāduddaula at Agra		
—Dr. S. K. Banerji	2	130-34

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Muhallab-bīn-Abī-Sufra : His Strategy and Qualities of Generalship		
—Dr. S. M. Yusuf	1	1-14
The Minstrels of the Golden Age of Islam		
—Dr. Henry George Farmer	3	273-284

ECONOMICS

An Epistle of Manual Craft		
—Dr. Bernard Lewis	2	142-151

GEOGRAPHY

Muslim Contributions to Geography during the Middle Ages		
—Prof. Nafis Ahmad	3	241-264
Qannauj : (An Enquiry into the Origin and Geographical Position of the City).		
—Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadwi	4	361-377

HISTORY

A Conference between Brig.-General Macleod and Tipu		
—Irshad Husain Baqai	1	88-95
A Year in Pre-mutiny Delhi		
—Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureishi	3	282-297
Makhdūma-i-Jahān : A Great Ruler of the Deccan		
—Abdul Majid Siddiqi	3	265-272
Some Documents bearing upon the History of Karnataka		
—Dr. A. G. Pawar	1	65-76
The Imprisonment of A'zam-ul-Umarā'		
—K. A. Sajun Lal	4	436-440
The Jalālī Calendar : Tārīkh-i-Jalālī or Mālīkī		
—Syed Hasan Barani	2	166-175
Tipu's Relations with the Nizām and the Marathas during the period 1785-87		
—Irshad Husain Baqai	4	414-421
Why was Nāsir Jung summoned to Delhi ?		
—Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan	1	57-64

LAW

	NUMBER	PAGE
Ibn-Taimiyya's Conception of Analogy and Concensus		
—Dr. Sirajul Haq	1	77- 87
Law and Culture in Islam		
—A. A. A. Fyzee	4	422-435
The Choice of a Caliph in Islam : (A Study in Early Conventions).		
—Dr. S. M. Yusuf	4	378-396

LITERATURE

As-Şāhib ibn-'Abbād as a Writer and Poet		
—Dr. M. Abdul Mu'īd Khan	2	176-205
Parvin-i-I'tisāmī : An Eminent Poetess of Modern Iran		
—Dr. S. M. Ishaq	1	49- 56
Rabi'a of Quzdār : The first Iranian Poetess of Neo-Persian		
—Dr. M. Ishaq	2	135-141

PHILOLOGY

Contributions to Classical Persian-English Vocabulary		
—Dr. C. E. Wilson	3	304-316

PHILOSOPHY AND SUFISM

Dārā Shukoh and the Upanishads		
—Dr. Tara Chand	4	396-413
The Relation of God to Time and Space, as seen by the Mu'tazilites.		
—Abdus-Subhan	2	152-165

POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Arab Administration of Sind		
—S. M. Jaffar	2	119-129
The Nature of Islamic Political Theory		
—Dr. M. Aziz Ahmad	1	39- 38

SOCIOLOGY

Costumes of Mamlūk Women		
—Prof. L. A. Mayer	3	298-303
Some Aspects of Bahmani Culture		
—Prof H. K. Sherwani	1	25- 35
Some Remarks on the Dress of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs in Egypt		
—Prof. L. A. Mayer	1	36- 32
What is Culture in General and Islamic Culture in Particular ?		
—Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur	1	15- 24

INDEX TO AUTHORS

	PAGE
Abdul-Majid Siddiqi	265
Abdul-Mu'ïd Khan, Dr. M.	176, 209
Abdus-Subhan	152
Amin Jung Bahadur, Nawab Sir	15
Aziz Ahmad, Dr. M	39
Banerji, Dr. S. K.	119
Baqir, Muhammad	206
Barani, Syed Hasan	166
Bernard Lewis, Dr.	142
Farmer, Dr. Henry George	273
Fyzee, A. A. A.	422
Hamidullah, Dr. M	327
Irshad Husain Baqai	88, 414
Ishaq (Ishaque), Dr. S. M.	49, 135
Ishtiaq Husain Qureishi	282
Jaffar, S. M.	119
Mayer, Prof. L. A.	36, 298
Nafis Ahmad, Prof.	241
Pawar, Dr. A. G.	65
Sajun Lal, K. A.	436
Saran, Dr. P.	441
Sherwani, Prof. H. K	25
Sirajul Haq, Dr.	77
Sulaiman Nadwi, Maulana Syed	361
Tara Chand, Dr.	396
Tawfiq, M. A.	317
Wilson, Dr. C. E.	304
Yusuf, Dr. S. M.	1, 378
Yusuf Husain Khan, Dr.	57

ISLAMIC CULTURE

VOL. XVII, 1943

INDEX

ABA-MUSLIM TAHIR IBN MUHAM-
MAD, 183.

Abān ibn 'Uthmān ibn Affān, 274, 275.

Abār, 365.

Abba Shelkar, 440.

'Abbād, 179.

'Abbād b. Sulaimān, 154.

'Abbād, ibn-, 273.

'Abbās, al-, 179, n. 378

'Abbās, ibn-, 390.

'Abbās Iqbāl, n. 139.

'Abbās, Mirza, 294

'Abbāsīd Age, 245.

'Abbāsīd Caliphate, 29.

'Abbāsīd Caliphs, 26, 167, 399.

'Abbāsīd Dynasty, 119.

'Abbāsīds, n. 135, 167, 199, n. 281, 396.

'Abd al-Aziz b. 'Abdullah, Campaign by,
1.

'Abd-Rabbihī, ibn-, 273.

Abdālī, Ahmad Shāh, 58.

'Abdārī, al-, Abu-Muhammad, 254.

'Abdārī, al-Muhammad b. Muḥammad,
302.

'Abdul Ghaffar Khān of Malkapur, n.
28.

'Abdul-Hakīm Mianeh, 420.

'Abdul-Ḥamīd, 186.

'Abdul-Ḥārith-Muḥammad b. Ahmad,
251.

'Abdul-Jabbār, n. 29.

'Abdul-Jabbār Khān, n. 272.

'Abdul Nubbee Cawn (Khan), 67.

'Abdul-Qādir al-Baghdādī, 376.

'Abdullah b. 'Abbās, 157.

'Abdullah b. Bakr (as-Sahmī), 156.

'Abdul-Tāh el-Makki, n. 25.

'Abdullah b. 'Amir, 9.

'Abdullah b. Saba, 390.

'Abdullah b. 'Umar, 386, 391.

'Abdullah ibn Ja'far, 277.

'Abdullah Khān, Khwāja, n. 63.

'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, 399.

'Abdur-Rahmān b. 'Auf, 386.

'Abdur-Rahmān Sufi, 263.

'Abdur Razzāq, n. 26, 35.

Abi al-Qāsim Ahmed ibn Muḥammad
al-Qūbāiy al-Isfahānī, 176 and
note.

Abi Samh, ibn-, (Malik), at-Tā'i, 278.

Abi Tahir Taifūr, ibn-, n. 38.

Abraham, n. 140, 151, 162.

Abu-'Abd al-Mun'im (See Tuwais).

Abu-'Abd an-Na'im, n. 274.

Abu-'Abdal, 278.

Abu al-Ḥasan at-Tabid, 183.

Abu-Bakr, 81, 199, 200, 378, 379, 380,
381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 387, 392;
allegiance, 381; election of, 381.

Abu-Dā'ūd, n. 424.

Abu-Dulaf, 248

Abu-Halim ash-Shaibānī, 363.

Abu-Ḥanifa, 82, 83, 84, 422.

Abu-Ḥayyān at-Tauhīdī, 176, 181, 182,
183, n. 185.

Abu-Huraira, 156.

Abu-'Inān, Sultan, 257.

Abu-Ishāq, as-Sābi, 176, 185.

Abu-Ja'far, 156.

Abu-Kāhil, 281.

Abu-Kāmil, n. 281.

Abu Mansūr al-Māturīdī, al-Imam, 164.

Abu-Nasr al-Farābī, 180.

Abu-Nuwās, 193.

Abu-Raiḥān (See Berūnī).

Abu-Sa'id Abul Khayr, 136.

Abu-Sa'id as-Sirāfi, Shaikh, 187.

Abu-Tamahān, al-Qaini, 280, 281.

Abu-'Ubaida, 379.

Abu Yusuf Ya'qūb, al-Kindi, 245.

Abu Zafar, Mirza, 283.

Abu-Zaid al-Balkhī, 119.

Abu-Zaid Sirāfi, 361, 364, 377.

Abu Zufar, 154.

Abu'l-Faḍl, 167.

Abu'l Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd, 177, 180.

Abul Faḍl, Mirza, n. 251.

Abu'l-Faraj, 180.

Abu'l-Fath I'tisāmi, 50, 55.

Abu'l-Fath Tigh Jung, 417.

- Abu'l-Fida, Isma'il b. 'Ali b. Mahmūd
 b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb 'Imād-
 uddin al-Ayyubī, 256.
 Abu'l-Hasan 'Abbād, 179.
 Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf, 154.
 Abu'l-Husain al-Khayyāt, 152.
 Abul-Husayn an-Nuri, 405.
 Abul-Mahāsīn, n. 303.
 Abul-Mundhir Hishām, ibn al-Kalabī,
 245.
 Abu'l-Mu'ayyid Abdul-Qayyūm b. al-
 Husayn b. al-'Ali al-Fārisi, 251.
 Abu'l-Muzaffar Isfāzārī, n. 169.
 Abul-Muzaffar Siraj-ud-din Muḥammad
 Bahadur Shāh II, 284.
 Abul-Nasr Sarrāj, 408.
 Abyssinia (Habash), 244, convention in,
 21.
 Ada, 425.
 'Aḍad ad-Dowla, n. 176, 179, 182, 183,
 194.
 Adam, 15.
 Adams Peak, 257.
 'Adawi, al, Nu'mān b. Adi, 384.
 Aden, 257.
 Adharbaijān, 256.
 'Adlu'l-Mulūk Khal'atbārī, n. 49.
 Adoni, 418, 419, 421; Seige of, n. 26, 31;
 Subedari of, 57.
 Adyar Library, Madras, 403.
 Aesop, 54.
 'Afāqis, 27.
 Afḍal, al, al-Malik, 256.
 Afḍal-u'd-Daulah Hafizullah Khān, 286.
 'Affān, 156.
 Afghanistan, 168, 251, 257.
 Africa, 243, 254; geography of, 255;
 North, 433; Roman, 244.
 African Coast, 243; East, 244.
 African Continent, 252.
 Agha Nargis Bānu Makhduma-i-Jahān,
 265, 266.
 Aghachi, n. 139.
 Aghāni, al-, n. 10.
 Aghnides, n. 424.
 Agra, 294; Lieut.-Governor of, 292, 295;
 merchants of, 293; Subedar of,
 59; tomb at, 130.
 'Ahd-Nāmah, authenticity of, 209.
 Aḥmad, 86.
 Aḥmad, al-Imām, b. Ḥanbal, 163.
 Aḥmad, M.B., n. 427, 429.
 Aḥmad I, Shihāb'ud-din, 27 and note.
 Aḥmad II, 'Atā'ud-din, 27, n. 28, 34.
 Aḥmad III, Nizāmu'd-din, 27 and note,
 28, 34.
 Aḥmad al-Makki, 273.
 Aḥmad b. Yahya b. Jābir, al-Baladhuri,
 246, 362.
 Aḥmad ibn al-Fāris, 180.
 Aḥmad Bahman Shāh, 33.
 Aḥmad Shāh Abdali, 58.
 Aḥmad Shāh, the Emperor, 57, 58, 61, 63,
 74.
 Aḥmad Shāh Wali, 265, 266.
 Aḥmadnagar, 35; the fort of, 439.
 Aḥmed Shah Mahomed Ali Chan, 71.
 Aḥsanullah Khan, Haki, 283.
 Ahwāz, al, encamped at, 1; fort of, 182;
 Kharaḥ of, 9.
 Ahzāb, battle of, 185.
 Aibak, Qutb-ud-din, 282.
 Ailchison, n. 88.
 'Ainu'd-din Bijapurī, n. 29.
 'A'isha, 277, 393, 394, 395.
 Ajamis, 178.
 Ajmir, 376.
 Ajmer kota, 290.
 Akbar, 398, 399, 401; 130.
 Akbar, II, Muḥammad, 282, 283, 299,
 290, 297.
 Akbar's Ilāhi calendar, 167, 172.
 Akbar's tomb, 130, 132.
 Akfāni, al-, n. 142.
 Akham, 362, 363.
 Akharpur, 61.
 Akhtal, al-, 164.
 Akhtar Imām, Dr. S., n. 241.
 'Alā'i Darwāza at Delhi, 31.
 'Allāf, al, Abu'l-Hudhail, 154.
 Alamgir II, Emperor, 67, 73, 74.
 Alans, 124.
 'Alā'uddin II, 266, 267.
 'Alā'ud-din Aḥmad II, 27 and note, n.
 28.
 'Alā'ud-din Bahman Shāh, n. 26.
 'Alā'ud-din Ḥasan Bahman Shāh 25,
 n. 26, 28, 29.
 'Alā'ud-din Khilji, 25, 31.
 'Alā'ud-din's tomb, 29.
 Aleppo, 254, 256.
 Alexander, 376; conquests of, 242.
 Aleya (Asia Minor), 257.
 Alf Beg, Mirza, 283.
 Algiers, 257.

- 'Alī (Aliy), 77, 79, 85, 119, 151, 195, 197, 199, 200, 201, 204, 379, 383, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 951; election of, 389; the Caliph, 279.
- 'Ali-bin-'Azīzullah, 266, 270.
- 'Alī ibn Hāmid ibn Abi Bakr al-Kūfī, 362.
- 'Ali ibn Ja'far of Shaizar, 247.
- 'Ali ibn Sinā, 259.
- 'Ali Reḍa Khan, 420.
- 'Alid family, 254.
- Aligarh, Historical Research Institute, 429.
- Allen, C. K., 423, and note.
- Alor, City of, 122.
- Alps, 252.
- Ambrose, St., 241.
- Ambur, battle of, 66, 68.
- Amedroz, n. 182.
- Ameer Ali, 125.
- American Independence, n. 90.
- Americans, 90.
- 'Amīd, ibn al, 177, 180, 181, 183, 185, 186, 194.
- Amin Jung Bahadur, Nawab Sir, n. 205.
- Amir Khursau, 399.
- Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz, 154.
- Amr b. Dīnār, 156.
- Amr ibn Bana, 273.
- Amr the bold, 195.
- Amra, 276.
- Amrapur, 62.
- Amṣar, 129.
- Ananda Ranga Pillai, 57, n. 65, 68, 70.
- Anatolia, 257.
- Andalus, al, minstrel of, 273.
- Andalusia, 260.
- Anderson, Mr. David, 414.
- Anderson, Mr. James, 414.
- Anglo Andhora Chief, 269, England, 434.
- Anquetil du Perron, 400.
- Anṣār, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384, 386, 391.
- Ansari, al-, Bakr ibn Ismā'il, 275.
- Anwar Mahal Begum, 283, 385.
- Anwari, 131.
- Anwaruddin Khan, n. 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70.
- Aqbugha, Amir, Abd ul-Wahid, 303.
- Aqiq, the stream of the, 279.
- Arab administration, 119.
- army, innovations into the, 2.
- art of warfare, 1.
- coins, 243.
- conquests, n. 124.
- empire, geography of, 248.
- geographers, 119, 122, n. 144, 261.
- immigrants, 135.
- invaders, 119, n. 121.
- learning, centres of, 129.
- literature, mediæval, 251.
- maritime activity, 243.
- navigators, 367.
- of Spain, 273.
- race, 178.
- rulers, 119, n. 121.
- soldiers, 129.
- travellers, 361, 370.
- Arabi, ibn-ul-, 407.
- Arabia, 18, 21, 434.
- Customs of, 425.
- Heart of, 434.
- Pre-Islamic, 430.
- Saudi, n. 147.
- South-East, 119.
- Arabian musicians, 273.
- Society, 380.
- Arabic, 295.
- grammar, 433.
- literature (classical), 142, 176.
- State, 119.
- Arabs, 13, 19, 119, 124, 380; battles of the, 124; contacts with, 119; Islamized, 119, military system of the, 123.
- Arakan Coast, 257.
- Aral, the sea of, 242.
- Archibald, Sir, (See Campbell).
- Arcot, 73; City of, 76; Dewanee and Foudary of, 67, 73; Nawab of, 65, 68.
- Ardashir, the Sassanid King, 150.
- Ardbil, 254.
- Ardibil, Shah Safi-'uddin, 132.
- Arjā Farat, 375.
- Arnold, n. 36, T. W., n. 154; V. Harfī, n. 299.
- Arram b. al-Asba as-Sulamī, 246.
- Artin Pasha, n. 36.
- Aryans, n. 123.
- Aryavarat (See Arja)
- Aryo-Semitic Culture, 29.
- Asad, Mir, 67, 75.
- Asad Burj, 289.
- Asadi, n. 139, n. 301.
- Asafud-Dawla Bahadur, 75.
- Asafud-Dawla Salabat Jung, 76.
- Asafiya Library, nn. 179, 180, and 186.
- 'Asākīr, ibn-, n. 159.
- Aṣḥab-i-Hadith, 408.

- Ash'ari, al-, nn. 152, 154, 155
 note, nn. 156, 157, and 158, 159.
 Ash'arites, 159.
 Ash'ath, al-, ibn, revolt of, 10; 12, 14.
 Asia, Central, 169, geography of, 252,
 255; Strong Man of, 435.
 Asia Minor, 249, 257.
 Asia, S. E., 243.
 Aşma'i, al-, 280.
 'Aşmat Begum, 130, 131.
 'Asqalāni, 85.
 Astrakhan, 257.
 Astronomy, 19.
 'Atā' b. Yasar, 156.
 Athari, 33.
 Athir, ibn al-, nn. 38, 177, 182
 Atlantic, 255, 261.
 'Attāb b. Warqā, 12.
 'Attār, 136.
 'Attār, Farid'ud-din, 135.
 Auckland, Lord, 288.
 Audaha (See Auruha).
 Audub Ram, Vakeel, 73.
 Audub Roy, 74.
 Aurangabad, 58, 61, 62, 63, 70, 72.
 Aurangzib, 33; reign of, 34.
 Auruha (Auraha), 363, 366.
 Aus, tribe of, 379.
 'Awfi, 135, 137.
 Awsite, n. 382.
 Ayubids of Egypt, 256.
 A'zam-ul-Umarā, 436, 437, 438, 439,
 440.
 Azar, 140, and note.
 Azāriqa, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12,
 14; campaign against 2; extermina-
 tion of, 3; Viceroy over, 1.
 Azd-Umar, 1.
 Azdis, Arab Settlements of the, 128.
 'Aziz, al-, 251, n. 281.
 'Aziz, 'Abdal, b. 'Abdullah, campaign
 by, 1.
 'Azizullah, Ali-bīn-, 266, 270.
 'Aziz-un-Nisa Begam, 285.
 Azov, Sea of, 242.
 Azreal; 407.
 Azraquites, 4.

 BABAK, IBN, 176.
 Babakan, son of, 150.
 Baba Lal, 403.
 Baba Phadkay, 437.
 Babar, 398, 435.
 Bāhawayhi, ibn-, 176.
 Babur Emperor (see Babar).
 Babylonian conceptions 261.
 Babylonians, 168.
 Badal Rai (See Saiyar).
 Badami, capture of, 418
 Badarayana, 401.
 Badr al-Din, Muhammad, n. 79.
 Badr, battle of, 195.
 Bādya, 260.
 Baghdād, 29, n. 38, 181, 243, 244, 247,
 254, 370, paper mill in, n. 145.
 Baghdad School, 152.
 Baghdad tradition, 37.
 Baghdādi, al-, 'Abdul-Qādir, 376.
 Bahadur Shāh II, 282, 284, 285, 289,
 296, 297.
 Bahadurgarh, Nawab of, 288.
 Bahār, Malik-ush-Shu'arā, 50 and note.
 Bahizo pundit, 415.
 Bahmani administration, 28.
 army, 26.
 commanders, 31.
 culture, 25, 35.
 dynasty, 271, history of, 25.
 queen 265.
 force, 269, 270.
 king, Feruz Shāh, 265.
 Kingdom, 28, 29, 35, 256, 268,
 269, 270.
 Minister, 271.
 nobles, 268, 269.
 State, 35.
 sultāns, 29.
 Wazir, 34.
 Bahmanis, 34; Empire of, 25; favourite
 of the, 33.
 Bahmanis' Gulbarga, 28.
 Bahrain, 257.
 Bahri Mamlūks, 303.
 Baidā, 129.
 Ba'ighra, Mahmūd, 270.
 Baihaqi, Muhammad ibn-i-Ahmad
 Mamūri, n. 169.
 Bait, Ahl-, al-, 199, 203.
 Bait-ul-Mal, 124.
 Baj, 125.
 Baji Rao, 437, 438, 439, 440; installation
 of, 437; property of, 438.
 Baji Rao II, 437.
 Bakshshi, 283.
 Bakhtiyar Kaki, Qutb-ud-din, n. 283.
 Baklana, Faujdar of, 61.

- Bakr ibn Isma'il al-Ansāri, 275.
 Bakri, 260.
 Bakri, al-, Abu-'Ubaid 'Abdullah b. 'Abdul-'Aziz, 253.
 Bakri, al-, as-Siddiqi, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, n. 37.
 Balaband, n. 287.
 Balādhury, al-, 119, n. 2, 246, 362, n. 389.
 Balāji, 60, 75.
 Balhara, 368, 371.
 Balkh, 136, 256, 257.
 Balkhi, al-, Abu-Zaid, 119, 248, 249, 250, 251; school, 262, 263.
 Ballabgarh, Rajah of, 288.
 Ballo Tātya, 437, 438.
 Baluchistan, 370.
 Bamahnavā, 374.
 Bamian, 128.
 Bana, ibn-, Amr, 273.
 Banī, Hashim, 178.
 Banu Hashim, 379.
 Barad, 365.
 Baransi, 363.
 Barhirava, 365.
 Bari, city of, 375.
 Barmecide (see Yahya b. Khalid).
 Baroda, 369, 377.
 Barquq, Sultans, n. 38.
 Barr, al-, ibn-'Abd, 10.
 Barsbay, Sultān, 303.
 Barthold, V. V., n. 435.
 Basant, 289.
 Basanti, 289.
 Bashir b. Sa'd, 379.
 Bashshāri Maqdisi, 362, 365, 366, 369.
 Basilpur, 290.
 Basra, 129, 247, 260, 391.
 Basra, al-, gates of, 1; governor of, 391; people of, 1; traders of, 12.
 Basran chiefs, 11.
 Basran soldiers, 4.
 Basrans, 1, 4, 13.
 Battāni, al-, n. 168.
 Baṭṭuta, ibn-, nn. 36, 77, 79, 243, 244.
 Baṭṭuta, ibn-, Abu-'Abdullah Muḥammad (Shams ad-Din), 257, 258, 259.
 Batwa, n. 283.
 Bayalun, Khātūn, 257.
 Bazar, Mir Khan's, 291.
 Bedouin women, 300.
 Bedouins, 298.
 Beer, 269.
 Begam Samru, 291, 293.
 Belgau, 272.
 Belin, n. 300.
 Bell, Miss G., 32.
 Bellary, 70.
 Bellini, n. 301.
 Belvalker, 401, 403.
 Benares (See Baransi).
 Bengal, 62, 91, 94, 257. factories in 71; firearms in, n. 26.
 Bengal Asiatic Society, 361.
 Bera, 269.
 Berar, n. 35, subedar of, 61.
 Berbers of the Maghrib, 425.
 Berlin, 251.
 Bernard von Breydenbach, n. 299.
 Berūni, (Birūni) al, 167, 168 & note, n. 170, 244, 251, 262, 253 & note 263, 374, 399.
 Bhailmal, 376.
 Bharatpur, 291.
 Bheema (Bhima), 265, 418.
 Bhojrai, 368, 369, 376, 377.
 Bholanath, Rajah, 289.
 Bhonsla, Mudhaji, 417.
 Bhonsle, Raghiji, 438.
 Bhopal, 369.
 Bickerton, Sir Richd., 94.
 Bidar, 25, 27 and note, 32, 33, 61, 268, 269, 272; city of, 269, 270; Firuzabad to, 266, 270; madrasah at, 34; the suba of, 438, 440; the chauth of, 439.
 Fort, n. 27.
 Sultanate, 28.
 Sultans, 28.
 Bihar 366; Shakranwan in, n. 78.
 Bijapur, 31, 35, 269, 414; subedari of, 57.
 Bijanagar, 268.
 Biktash, 136.
 Bilāl, 78.
 Bimnah, 417.
 Binde, 414.
 Birjandi, n. 167; 'Abdul-'Ali, 170, 171, 172, 173, n. 175.
 Bjorkman, n. 300.
 Black Sea, 242, 257.
 Bombay, 88, 93, 94, 366; Commander-in-chief of, 89; troops from, 419.
 Bombay Government, 88.

BOOKS REVIEWED :

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Constitutional Developments in the Islamic World,—Prof. Ramesh

- Chandra Ghosh, 357.
Geographical Factors in Arabian Life and History,—Dr. Sh. Inayatullah, 235.
Haidar Ali, Vol. I,—Dr. N. K. Sinha, 237.
History of Early Muslim Political Thought and Administration,—Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani of Hyderabad, 236.
Humayun Badshah, Vol. II,—Dr. S. K. Banerji, 232.
Islami Parti ka A'in,—Aziz Hindi, 469.
Kashmir : the Playground of Asia,—Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, 359.
Peshwa Madhau Rao I,—Anil Chandra Bannerjee, 469.
The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi,—I. H. Qureshi, 117.
The Crusade of Free Spirits : (A draft of Peace Conditions),—the Rt. Hon'ble. Alexander Wamwetzos, 471.
The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals,—Abdul Aziz, 356.
Bora, 368, 377.
Bosnawi, al-, n. 38.
Brahma, 407.
Brahmanabad, 122, 123; conquest of, 120, 121.
Brahmans, 121, 122, n. 124, 372.
Brahmayun, 373.
Brazen-Fly, 137.
Breydenbach, Bernard V., nn. 299 and 302.
British administration in India, 294.
 Empire, 90.
 government, 417.
 justice, 295.
 officials, 296.
 possessions in India, 295.
 post, 293.
Brockelmann, nn. 77, 84, 246 and 248.
Brown, P., n. 131, 132.
Browne, n. 25, 32, n. 135.
Buddammee, town of 418.
Buddhist Raja, 376.
Budh, 371; temple of, 120.
Budr-uz-Zaman, 420.
Byhler, G., n. 434.
Buhturi, al-, n. 176, 187.
Bukair b. al- Akhnas, 2.
Bukhara, 257; Madrasa of, 432.
Bukhari, 86.
Bulaq, 77.
Bulgarlands, 258.
Bulghars, Volga, Court of, 243.
Burhan, 66.
Burhanpur, 61, 62.
Burhanuddin, 420.
Burma-Yunan route, 243.
Burnell, 401.
Burton, n. 123.
Bussy, 92, 93.
Buwaihi Wazir, 273.
Buwaihids, 29.
Buwayh, ibn-, Rukn-ud-Dowla, Vizier of, 179.
Buzurg ibn Shariyar, 243, 367.
Byzantine Capital, 257.
Byzantine territory, 124.
CAIRENE WOMEN, n. 299; Ladies, 301, 303.
Cairo, 38, n. 79, 80, 119, 257, 262, 263, 298, 301, market in, 302.
Calcutta, 290, 294.
Calendar, Gregorian, 172; Jalali, 166; Persian, 167, 170, 171.
Calicut, 258.
Caliph, the Choice of, 378.
Caliphs, Abbasid, in Egypt, 36.
Caliphs, the first four, 17.
Cambodia, 258.
Camel, battle of, 394.
Cambell, Lt.-Col., 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95; Major, 88, Sir Archibald, 421.
Cannanore, Bibi of, 95.
Canton, 243, 258.
Cardozo, B., nn. 425 and 427.
Carnatic, 61, 62, 63, 70, 91, 421, Nawab of, 61, 75, 92; invasion of the, 421.
Carpaccio, n. 36, 301.
Cartography, 260, Roman, 262; Muslim, 263.
Caspian Coasts, 254.
Caspian Sea, 242.
Caucasus, 251.
Cawnpore, 361.
Cæsar, Julius, 169.
Celebi, Evliya, n. 143.
Cesare Vecellio, n. 36.
Ceuta, 254, 255.
Ceylon, 128, 243, 249, 157, 434.
Chach, 123.

Chach and Ak'ham, battle between, 263.
 Chach Saitaj, 363.
 Chambal, 61. 62.
 Chancery Judges, 427.
 Chanda Sahib, 69, 75, letter by 68;
 support of 61.
 Chandelas, 122, 123.
 Chander Dev, 377.
 Chandravai, village of, 297.
 Chaori, 291.
 Chatr, n. 283.
 Chaturbhuj Kaul, 402.
 Chaul, 32.
 Chauth, 42.
 Chengama Pass, 70.
 Chengir-e-pandan, n. 288.
 Chhandogya, 402.
 Chiminagi Appa, 437; installation of,
 438.
 China, 128, 242, 246;
 S. W., 243, 251, 257, 258.
 Sea, 249.
 Chinese, 169.
 Chitalrai, Harchand, 376.
 Christian civilization, 255.
 Scriptures, 398, 399.
 teachings, influence of, 241.
 pre-, Geographical theory, 241.
 Christianity, 294.
 Christians, 300; churches of the, 121.
 Circassian period, 298, 299.
 Sultans, 38.
 Circassians, under the, 303.
 Code, Swiss, 425.
 Colin, G. S., n. 142.
 Columbus, 262.
 Communist State, 48.
 Company officials 296
 Company's persecution, 295.
 Constantinople, 3, 128, 251, 257, 258.
 Convention of Khanda, 436.
 Coote, Sir Eyre, n. 89.
 Cordova, 253, 254.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 419, 421.
 Coromandel Coast, 65, 76, 243, 248, 257.
 Cosmas, Monk, 241.
 Cosmography, views about, 241.
 Court of Volga Bulgars, 243.
 Crimea, 257.
 Crooke, n. 123.
 Cudapa, Nabob of, 67.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

DECCAN.

Bijapur—Arabic and Persian manu-
 scripts, 451.
 Bombay—Akbar quatercentenary,
 celebration of, 108.
 Madras—Exhibition of Islamic
 History and Culture, 446.
 Madras—Islamic Series, publica-
 tion of, 219.
 Mysore—Archæological Depart-
 ment, the Annual Report of the,
 107.
 Mysore—Letter of Vira Rajendra
 Wodeyar Raja of Coorg, 107.

DELHI

A chair in Islamic Studies, 221.
 An Inaugural Lecture (Economic
 Activities), 222.
 Anglo-Arabic College, 110.
 Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (Hind),
 109.
 Government Publicity, 457.
 Hikmah, the meaning of, (discourse),
 222.
 Manuscripts, 225.
Nadwat-ul-Musannifin, 110, 222.
 Persian Wit and Humour (lecture),
 222.
 The Jamiah Milliyah Islamiyah, 109.
 The University, 456.

FOREIGN

America—Progress of Islam in Eu-
 rope, 346.
 America—The Orientalistic Scene
 in America, 114.
 Egypt—Jabir ibn-Hayyan, 347.
 London—"Arabic Listener" the
 Fortnightly Journal, 348.
 Oxford—Muslims in European
 Balladry, 347.
 Spanish Review—Two New Frag-
 ments of the "Memoirs" of the
 Ziride King 'Abd-Allah of Gran-
 ada, 111.

HYDERABAD-DECCAN

Authenticity of an important docu-
 ment of the Prophet, 96.

Celebration of 400th Anniversary of the Birth of Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor, 104.

Da'irat al-Maarif of Osmania University, 219, 446.

Extra-Mural Lectures of the Osmania University, 210.

Hyderabad Academy, 106.

Iqbal Day, Celebration of, 331.

Majalla-i-Tailsanin, 446.

Majlis-e-Ulema, 445.

Milad Conference, Fifth Session of, 333.

Osmania University, 105.

Quranic Teachings, 105.

The Convocation of the Osmania University, 332.

The Oriental Research in the Osmania University, 106.

The Urdu Periodicals, 214.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Aligarh—Islami Jama'at, 340.

Aligarh—Letters of Late Dr. Iqbal, 343.

Aligarh—Maulana Abu-Abdullah Muhammad-bin-Yousuf Surati, 226.

Aligarh—The Majlis-e-Islamia, 229.

Aligarh—Zahra Mosque, 231.

Allahabad—"Onward," 343.

A'zamgarh—Darul-Musannifin, 341.

Bankipur—The Oriental Public Library, 230.

Behar—The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, 461.

Bengal—Iqbal Day Celebrations in the Rajshahi College, 343.

Thana Bhawan—Maulana Thanvi, 459.

United Provinces—A committee appointed by H.E. Nawab Sahib Chhatari, 230.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Lahore—New Publications, 466.

—Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 232.

—The Iqbal Study Circle, 231.

—Works in Preparation, 467.

Punjab—The University Library, 344.

Culture, 15, 24; Arya-Semitic, 29, Bahmani, 25; Hellenistic, 242; Islamic, 15; Muslim, 16.

Culture and Religion, relation of, n. 422. in Islam, 422 and note.

Customary law in Islam, 425.

Cyrenaica, 258.

DABBI, AD-, ABI AL-'ABBAS, 176.

Dabul, 32.

Dacca, 258.

Dackan, Bawdsha of the, 421.

Dada Gudraji, 440.

Dahar, 353.

Dahir, 123.

Dahshudhan, 184.

Dalāl, ad-, 277.

Damascus, 38, 77, 79, 129, 254, 256, n. 299, 302.

Dara, 397, 398, 400, 402, 403, 404, 407, 408, 409, 410, 111; practical life of, 398; works of, 399.

Dara Bakht, Mirza, 284.

Dara Shikoh, 397, 398, 402, 412.

Darhand, (See Waihand).

Daribah, 296.

Dastar-i-Sarbastah, n. 287.

Dā'ūd, ibn-, 281.

Daudpota, n. 137.

Daulat Rao Sindia, 437, 439.

Daulatabad, 25, 269; fort of, 440, restoration of the fort of, 439.

David, 151.

Davids, Fort St., 68, 75, 76.

Dawani, Khwāja, Jalāluddin, 34.

Dawson, Prof., 361.

Dawūd, 26 and note, 31.

Dayam, Qaḍi, Muḥammad, 61.

De Goeje, 249.

Debal, 122.

Deccan, 27, 28, 29, 60, 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 73, 269, 270, affairs of the, 58; bazars of the, 32; beauty of the, 33; culture of the, 31, 34; factories in the, 71; glory of the, 33; Great Ruler of the, 265; history of the, 271, 272, Key of the, 32; Queen of the, 266; Saviour of the, 270; Strength of the, 270; Subedar of the, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 66. arms, 269. army, 269. politics, 270, 272.

Deccanis, 27.

Dekni, Mallo Khan (See Mallo Khan).

- Delhi, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 72, 257, 286; 297, 376; buildings of, 289; capital at, 25; Citizens of, 288, 289; City of, 296; Colonists from, 27; Court of, 61; Envoy at, 60; European population in, 288; People of, 283, 286, 290, 291; Populace of, 296; pre-mutiny, 282; Sultan of, 25, 32; Sultana Rāḍiā of, 265; Sultanate of, 25; throne of, 282.
- Delhi Gate, 291.
tradition, 29
- Denison Ross, n. 26.
- Derband, 254.
- Deussen Paul, 400, 403.
- Dhafari, 258.
- Dharma, 423.
- Dhauq, Shaikh Ibrahim, 284, 286.
- Dhimmis, 126.
- Dhunkal Singh, 286.
- Dhulfiqār Jang, Salābat Khan, 59, 60.
- Dihqans of Persia, 425.
- Dionysius Talmarenisis, 124.
- Divine Spirit Holy, 407.
- Diwali, 289.
- Diwan-i-Am, 33, 285.
Khas, 33, 285.
- Diwan of Kabul, 130.
- Diwan of Public Works, 130.
- Doab, 414.
- Doabs of the Kistna, Bhima and Tungabhadra, 418.
- Dodwell, 68.
- Domenico Trevisnao, n. 36.
- Dowson, n. 124.
- Dozy, nn. 147 and 148, 249, nn. 298, 299, 300, 301 and 302.
- Duff, Grant, nn. 418, 437, 438, and 439.
- Dunanah, Nawab of, 288.
- Dulab, battle of, n. 3.
- Dupleix, 61, 63, 66, 70, 75.
- Duqmāq, ibn-, n. 300, n. 302.
- Dutch Jurist, 432.
- Dutch, 90.
- EAST INDIES, 243.
- Eastern thinkers, 433.
- Edict of 1936; Imperial, 54.
- Education Islamic theory of, 319.
- Education in Islam, 317.
- Egypt, 244, 49, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 302, 374, 433, 435; Abbasid Caliphs in, 36; Canals in, n. 144, Conquest of, 244; Fellaheen of, 425, 85; viceroy of, 298.
- Egyptian tract, n. 151.
- Elders, choice of, 382, 387, 391.
- Elliot, Mr., 296, 361, 364.
- England, 88, 92; Anglo-Saxon, 434; King of, 89.
- English, conflict with the, 421, co-operation of the, 438; interference of the, 58; peace with the, 89; war with the, 89, 90.
Government, treaty with the, 417.
language, 295.
literature, 49.
- Enoch, 151.
- Ethics, 16.
- Euphrates, 425.
- Europe, 251; geography of, 250, nations of, 91; States of, 40; the Company in, 416; the Sick Man of, 435.
- European ally, 417.
- Evliya (Celebi), nn. 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151.
- Eyre Cotte, Sir, n. 89, n. 91.
- FADL, ABU'L-, IBN AL-'AMID, * 177, 180
- Fadl b. Yahya, Barmecide, n. 145.
- Fadlān, ibn-, 243, 244, 247.
- Fadlu'l-Lah Inju, Mir, 32.
- Fakhr ad-Din ar-Rāzi, 161 note, n. 163, 164.
- Fakhr-i-'Adil Fakhri, n. 49.
- Fakhrud-din, Mirza, 286, 287.
- Fakhr-ud-Dowla, Vizier of, 179, 181, 182.
- Fane, Sir Henry, 286.
- Fārābi, al-, Abu-Nasr, 180.
- Faraj, Abu'l-, 180, 248.
- Faraj, Sultān, 37.
- Farid'ud-Din 'Attār, 135.
- Farighunid dynasty, 251.
- Faris, al-, Aḥmad ibn, 180, 183.
- Farmer, nn. 273, 274, 278 and 281.
- Farrukh Siyar, a Farman of, 441.
- Farrukhabad, 362; brokers of, 293.
- Farrukhnagar, Nawab of, 288.
- Fars, 5, 258, commodities of, 7.

- Faryab, 371.
 Farzan, 370.
 Farzand-i-Lā'iq Rukn-u's-Saltanat 'Azam
 -u'l-Umarā Hamid-ullah Dānish-
 -u'l-Mulk Mirza Mughal Beg Khan.
 Fas (Fez), 257.
 Fatalism, 203, 204, 205.
 Fatalist, 204.
 Fatehpuri mosque, 291.
 Fathpur Sikri, 133.
 Fatima, n. 279, 381.
 Fātimat az-Zahrā, 195.
 Fatimid caliph, 251.
 Fatimid Kingdom, 374.
 Fatimids (Sadāts), 199, 249.
 Faujdār of Baklana, 6.
 Fazari, al-, 254.
 Fellaheen of Egypt, 425.
 Ferishta, (see Firishta).
 Fez, 254, 258.
 Find, n. 277.
 Fiqh, 424, 429, 432.
 Firdausi Millenary Celebrations, 49.
 Firishta, 26 and note, 31, 32, 266, nn.
 267, 268, and 269, 271, 272.
 Firoz, n. 26, 27 and note, 32, 33.
 Firoz Jang, Ghāziuddin Khan, 59.
 Firoz Shāh, 31.
 Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 399.
 Firozi, 32.
 Firuzabad, 265, 266, 269, 270.
 Firuz Shāh Bahmani, 265, 271.
 Floyer, Governor, 68.
 Forbes, n. 123.
 Forrest, nn. 89 and 437.
 France 88, 416; Engagements with, 416;
 King of, Wakil from, 417.
 Franco-Maratha alliance, 415.
 Frank, Othmar, 400.
 "Franks," 31.
 Fraser, nn. 437 and 438, 439 and note.
 French, 90, 92; interference of the, 58.
 French alliance, 417.
 French envoy, 90.
 jurist, 427.
 negotiations, 416.
 Revolution, 120.
 Frescobaldi, nn. 299, 301, and 302.
 Fauti, al-, Hishām, 154.
 Fullarton, Col., 95.
 Furāt, al-, limits of 5.
 Furat, ibn-ul-, nn. 37 and 298.
 Fustat, 249.
 Futteh Ally Khan, 421.
 Fyzee, A. A. A., n. 424.
 GABRIEL., 151, 407.
 Gaikwar, 377.
 Gajendragarh, fort of, 418, 420.
 Ganges, 374, 375, 376.
 Gengee (Jinji), 68, 69.
 Geography, Dark Age of, 241; descrip-
 tive, 242; Greek contributions to,
 241; Muslim contributions to, 241;
 Roman contributions to, 241.
 Geographical conceptions, 259.
 Geographical thought, 242.
 George, Fort St., 95.
 Germany, 253, 400.
 Ghadir-al-Khum, 196.
 Ghadwad clan, 377.
 Ghausi, al-, Qansuh, 37.
 Gharid, al-, 277, 278.
 Ghauwāsi, 399.
 Ghāziuddin Khan, 57, 66; Firoz Jang,
 60, 71, 72, 74, junior, 67.
 Ghazna, Kings of, 375; Mahmūd of, 374.
 Ghaznavid period, 374.
 Ghaznavide rule, 399.
 Ghaznavids, 29.
 Ghazni, 257, n. 302.
 Ghaznin, 128, n. 150.
 Ghazzālī, al-, n. 150, 163, 404.
 Ghistele, Joos Van., n. 302.
 Ghiyāth, 130.
 Ghiyāth Beg, 130.
 Ghiyāth, Mirza, 130.
 Ghiyāth, Muḥammad, Khan, 415.
 Ghiyāth Muḥammad, Mirza, 130.
 Ghiyāthu'd-din, n. 26, 27, 31.
 Ghorī, Malik Saifu'd-din, 28 and note,
 272.
 Ghorī, Shihābuddin, 376, 377.
 Ghulām Husain Khan, n. 438.
 Ghuzayil, al-, 281.
 Gilān, alumni of, 35.
 Goa, 257, 272, 417.
 Gode, n. 26.
 Goetz, 34.
 Golconda, 31, 35.
 Goldziher, 77, nn. 84, 151 and 300.
 Goltakri, soldiers at, 438.
 Gorakhnath, 419.
 Gorakhpore, 403.
 Goshwarah, n. 287.
 Goudwana, country of, 270.
 Govardhan (see Umna).
 Govin Rao Kale, 440.
 Gozganan, 371.
 Granada, 253, 254.
 Grant Duff, nn. 418, 437, 438 and 439.

- Great War, 433.
 Greek civilization, 167.
 learning, 433.
 Greeks, 244, 261.
 Pagan, 241.
 the ancient, 150.
 of Alexandria, 168.
 Gregorian calendar, 172.
 Grohmann, n. 36.
 Grotius, 432.
 Gudraji, Dada, 440.
 Gujar, 377.
 Gujrat, 268, 270, 362, 369, 371.
 Gujrat (Gujarat), Kingdom of, 270;
 Mahmud Ba'ighra of, 270; Mar-
 kets of, 32; Sidharaj Jaya Sinha of,
 n. 123.
 Gulbadan, n. 292.
 Gulbarga, 25, 32, 33, 265.
 court at, 27; Sultans at, 28; tombs
 at, 29; town in (see Udgir).
 Bahmanis, 28.
 fort, 30.
 Sultanate, 28.
 Sultans, 31.
 Gurgaon (see Sitla).
 Gurjarparthar, Raja of the, 376, 377.
 Guzerat, 66, 73.
 Guzganian, 251.
 Gwalior, family of, n. 297; Raja of, 375.
- HABASH, 244.
 Hadar, 260.
 Hadith, 406.
 Hadith, Aṣḥāb'-i-, 408; the Qur'an and
 the, intercalation in, 327.
 Hafiz, al-, Abu-Nu'aim al-Isfahāni, 186.
 Hāfiz of Shirāz, Khwaja, 32.
 Haft Gumbad, 31.
 Haider Ali, nn. 89, and 91, 414.
 Hāik, al-, 249.
 Haital, 373.
 Haiyal (see Jaipal).
 Hajar, ibn-, n. 2, 10.
 Hājj, al-, ibn n. 298, 299, 300 and note,
 302.
 Hājj, Qalā'unid prince, n. 302.
 Hājjā, al-, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, n. 120, 121.
 Hakam, al-, ibn 'Abd al, n. 278, 281.
 Hamadan, 183.
 Hamadāni, al-, (Abu-Bakr b. Muḥam-
 mad b. Ishāq b. al-Faqih), 247,
 250.
- Haman, 155.
 Hamat, house of, 256; tribe of, 255.
 Hamavi, 255; Yaqut, 255.
 Hamdani, al-, Abu al-Husain Aliy ibn
 al-Hasan al-Husaini, 178.
 Hamdanids, 29.
 Hamdullah Mustawfi, 256.
 Hamidullah, Dr. Md., nn. 425 and 428,
 431, 432.
 Hamidullah, Nawab, 284.
 Hammad b. Salama, 156.
 Hammer, J. von, n. 143.
 Hampi, 34.
 Hanafi System, 434.
 Hanafite (s), 82, 83, 84.
 Hanbalite School, 77, 80, 434.
 Hangehow, 258.
 Hansi, 257.
 Hanzala ibn, ash-Sharaqi, 280.
 Harb, Banu'l (Harbis), 198.
 Harchand Chitalrai, 376.
 Harff, Arnold v, n. 299, 300 note, nn.
 301 and 302.
 Hari Pandit, 418, 419, 420.
 Hari Pant Phadke, 417.
 Harish, al-, b. Hilal, n. 13.
 Hārith, 136.
 Harrān, 124.
 Harsha, 376.
 Hārūn, 195.
 Harwī, al-, Shaikh, 255.
 Hasan Khan, 33, 265.
 Hasan, al-, ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali abi-
 Tālib, 279, 280.
 Hāshim, 384.
 Hasharites, 160 and note.
 Hassān b. Thabit, 383.
 Hastings, 414.
 Hauqal (Hawqal), ibn-, 126, 127, 244
 249, 251, 262, 360, 371.
 Hayyān, abu-, 176, 181, 182, 183, n. 185.
 Hegel, 408.
 Hellenistic culture, 242.
 Hemapal, 277.
 Henry, Sir, (see Fane).
 Herat, 247.
 Herat, 257; border of, 294; Shah Kamran
 of, 294; territory, 294.
 Hidāyat Muḥi-ud-din Khan (Muzzafar
 Jang), 69.
 Hidāyat, Riḍa Quli Khan, 135.
 Hidāyat-ud-din Khan, 71.
 Hijri Era, 18.
 Hilāl b. Abi-Maymuna, 156.
 Hilla, Qādi of, 256.

Himalayas, the, 252, 370.

Himut Bhabhur, 67

Hindi writings, 398.

Hindu community, 21.

dome, 132, 133.

faith, doctrines of, 398.

features, 134.

ideas, influence of, 399.

jurisconsults, 429.

knowledge of, 411.

Kush, 257.

Law, 423, 429.

mystic lore, 398.

Rao, 297.

rayas, 29.

School of mysticism, 408.

scriptures, 399.

ways of thought, 399.

yogis, 398.

Hindus, 168, 253, 366.

Hindustan, 60, 66, 73, 252.

Hingne, 50.

Hirat, Sultant of, 35.

Hisba literature, 142.

Hishām Abul-Mundhir ibn al-Kalabi, 245.

Hishām al-Fuati, 154.

Hisham b. Abi-'Abdullah, 156.

Historical Academy, 254.

Historical Research Institute, Aligarh, 429.

Hitti, nn. 144, 145, 178 and 299.

Holi, 289.

Holkar, 420.

Hokar Malhar, 50, 72.

Holkar, Tukoji, 420.

Horard Jung, 417.

Hormuz, 257.

Horne, General, 421.

Howdiwala, Prof., n. 123.

Hozayen, 260.

Huart, Clement, nn. 246 and 247.

Hudleston, 95.

Hughes, Admiral, 94.

Hujwairi, 404.

Hula, ibn-, 263.

Humayun, 27 n. 28, 34, 265, 266, 267, and 268.

Hume, 403.

Hurry Pundit, 418

Husan Dost Khan, (Chand Sahib), 75.

Husain, Qala'unid prince, n. 302.

Hussein Mahomed Chan, 58.

Hydari, Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar, 15.

Hyder, House of, 90.

Hyderabad, 28 n. 35, 369, 377, 439; alliance with, 420; families of, 20; Islamic Culture, 431; Nizam of, 417, reinforcement from, 418. Court, 420.

IBRĀHĪM AL-FĀRISI (ISTAKHRI), 263.

Ibrahim b. Ya'qūb, 253.

Idgah, 289.

Idris, 151.

Idrisi, 244, 248, 254, 255, 263.

Idrisi, al-, Abu-'Abdullah Muḥammad b. Muammad b. 'Abdullah, b.

'Idris ash-Sharif, 254.

'Ijli, al-, Sa'id ibn Muḥammad, 280.

Ijmā, 424.

Ikhwān as-Ṣafa, 259.

Ilāhi calendar, Akbar's, 167.

Ilutmish, Sulṭān, 362.

'Imād, ibn al-, n. 80.

'Imād-ud-Din Muḥammad ibn Qāsim 120.

'Imād-ud-Mulk, 74.

'Imām Ahmad, 78.

Imāmat, Khilāfat and, difference between, 199.

Imperial Records Department, n. 88.

India, 130, 133, 249, 251, 252, 257, 363, 367, 371, 376, 434, 435, administration of justice in, 429; ancient, 434; artists of, 133, British administration in, 295; British dominions in, 295, capital of, 370, 374; contact of Islam with, 399; European historians of, 361; European powers in, 415; Europeans in, 31, geography of, 252; Governments in, 91; history of, 271; Mapillah of, 425; mid-eighteenth century in, 57; Mughal rule in, 397; Muslim rule in, 399; North, 60; south 57; Upper 27.

Indian artist, 132.

Empire, Capital of, 371.

languages, 252.

Ocean, 243, 252, 261.

powers, combination of, 415, conflict with, 414; negotiations by, 416.

Intercalation in the Quran and the Hadith, 327.

International law, 434.

Intizamud Daula, 59, 60.

Iqbal, n. 435.
 Iran, 49, 130, 133; designs of, 134; geography of, 247; Shah of, 294; tilings of, 132.
 Irani, 130, 132.
 building, 133, 134.
 features, 133.
 Iranian poetess, 135.
 Iranu'd-Dawla Jannat, n. 49.
 Iraq, 18, n. 38, 203, 247, 257, 258; camels in, n. 144; Viceroy of, n. 120.
 Iraq, al-, conqueror of, 12.
 'Isa Khan, 31.
 Isa Mia, 440.
 Isāba, al, n. 10
 'Isāmi, n. 26
 Isfahān 130, 135, 180, 181.
 Isfahāni, al-, 273.
 Isfahāni, aṣ-Ṣāhib, 169.
 Isfandarmodh Māh, 171.
 Isfazāri, Abu'l Muzaffar, n. 169.
 Ishāq, n. 50, n. 53.
 Ishāq al-Mausili, 273, 276.
 Ishāq b. Husāin, 254.
 Ishāq of Mosul, 246.
 Iskāfi, al-, 154.
 Islam, 433; advent of, 83; 243, after, 434; authority in, 385; before 434; cause of, 380; character of, 378; concepts in, 425; conversion to, 425; customary law in, 425; culture in, n. 422; culture of, 42; democracy of, 387; early days of, 86; empire of, 250; election in, 386; general history of, 429; genius of, 381; heritage of, 431, identification of, 39, knowledge of, 388; law in, 423; law and culture in, 422; leaders of 85; legislation in, 385; maxims of, 17, mediæval, 142; moral code in, n. 422; political system of, 385, practice in, 82; Prophet of, 40, reforms by, 429; services to, 382, social order of, 389; social structure of, 380; structure of, 389; superiority in, n. 422; supreme power in, 433; the Golden age of, 273; theocentric, n. 422.
 Islamic books, 431.
 civilization, 170, 255, 259, 426, 432.
 conquest, 242.
 countries, 167, 169, 425, 434.
 Course of Self-Education and

Mind Training,
 323.
 crafts, history of the, 151.
 culture, 15, 16, 17, 431.
 domination, 429.
 government, 381.
 guilds, 142, 151.
 jurisprudence, 424, 425, 433.
 lands, 142, 258.
 law, 81, 127, 430, 434, 435 and note.
 Law, sources in, 425.
 literature, 423, 434.
 method of mind training, Rationale of the, 324.
 mysticism, 411.
 Political Theory, 39, 40, 41, 44.
 polity, 382, 384, 386.
 reform, 431.
 social order, 383, 387.
 society, 142, 383, 435.
 State, 48, 385, 433.
 system of government, 40.
 Theory of Education, 319.
 world 250, 255
 Ismael, 151.
 Isma'il, 179.
 Isma'il ibn-'Abbād 177.
 Isma'ili influence, 151.
 Isma'ili movement, 142.
 Isma'ilis, n. 150.
 Israelites, 262.
 Istakbar, taxes of, 9; nature of, 249.
 Iṣṭakhr, 179.
 Iṣṭakhri, al-, 248, 249, 251, 367, 370.
 Istanbul, 119; guilds of, n. 148.
 Italian artists, 132.
 Italians, 261.
 Italy, 21, 255, 293.
 Iṭhna Ashari Shī'a School, 429.
 I'timād, 130, 131.
 I'timāduddaula, 130, 132, 133; the tomb of, 130.
 I'timādu's-Saltana, Muhammad Hasan Khan, n. 135.
 I'tiṣāmi, Abu'l-Fath, 50, 55.
 I'tiṣāmi, Mirza Yusuf Khan, 49.
 I'tiṣāmu'l-Mulk, 49.
 Iyās, ibn-, nn. 37, 38, 98, 300 and 301.
 JACOB, PROPHET, 43.
 Ja'far b. Ahmad al-Marwazī, 246.

- Ja'far b. Harb, 154.
 Ja'far b. Mubashsher, 154.
 Ja'far, ibn, 'Abdullah, 277, 278.
 Ja'far ibn Muhammad, 274.
 Jahangir, 130, 131, 132, 133, 398.
 Jāhiz, al-, 4, 250, 273.
 Jāhiz, al-, 'Amr b. Bahr, 154, 185.
 Jaichal, Rai, 377.
 Jaihani, al-, 248, 249, 250.
 Jaipal, 373.
 Jaipur, 291.
 Jalāl Humvi, n. 170.
 Jalali, Calendar, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172.
 Jalālu'd-din Dawāni, Khāwja, 34.
 Jalāluddin Rūmī, 404.
 Jalāluddin, Sulṭān, Malik Shāh Saljūqi, 166, 169.
 Jalandhar, 371, 372, 376.
 Jamah, n. 287.
 Jamal, al-, battle of, 195, (see Camel)
 Jamāli, al-, Yashbak, 301.
 Jāmi, 135, nn 137 and 139, 406.
 Jāmi', Masjid, 284, 289.
 Jāmi, Maulana Nuru'd-din, 35.
 Jamna Canals, 59.
 Jamna, 131, 294.
 Jan Beg, 130.
 Janardan Shivaji, 440.
 Janogee, 59.
 Japan, 246.
 Jarib, n. 287.
 Jats, 123 and note.
 Jauz, Kingdom of, 362, 377.
 Jauzi, al-, ibn, n. 150.
 Java 434.
 Jawid Khan, 58, 59.
 Jayaji, Sindhia, 60, 72.
 Jayasi Malik Muhammad, 399.
 Jazari al-, 36.
 Jeddah 257.
 Jerusalem 250.
 Jervis, W. W., n. 261.
 Jesus, 140 and note 155 157.
 Jeswunt, 69.
 Jewesses, 300.
 Jews, scripture of the, 399; synagogues of the, 121.
 Jhajjar, Nawab of, 288, 292.
 Jharokah, n. 297.
 Jibal province, 246.
 Jihad, 128; law of, 432.
 Jili, 407.
 Jindh; (see Sarup).
 Jital Harchand, 364.
 Jital Rai, 363.
 Jizyah (Jizya), 125, 126; levy of the, 29.
 Job, n. 137.
 John, n. 140.
 Johnson, Mr., 415.
 Joos van Ghistele, n. 302.
 Jubair, ibn-, 254.
 Jubbāi, al-, Abdul-Wahhāb, 154.
 Juhani, al-, Rifa'at, 156.
 Julius Cæsar, 169.
 Junair, 32.
 Junūd, 129.
 Jurisconsults, Hindu, 429; Muslim, 429.
 Jurisprudence, 422; Islamic, 424; Muslim system of, 424.
 Jurist, Dutch, 432; French, 427.
 Juwaini al-, al-Qādi Abul-Ma'ālī.
 Juzar, 362; kingdom of, 377.
 Juzayy, ibn-, 257.
 KA'B (KALB), 135, 136.
 Ka'b al-Ashgari, 5, n. 13.
 Kabir, 398.
 Kabul, 62, 128, 248, 257; Diwan of, 130.
 Kadid, al-, (Qadid), 156.
 Kāfi al-Kufāt, 177.
 Kahar, n. 295.
 Kaksa, 123.
 Kalanjar, 375.
 Kalatli b. Shakhbar, 248.
 Kalbi, al-, 273, 275.
 Kalbi, al-, ibn-, 279.
 Kalabi, al, ibn, Abu Mundhir Hisham, 241.
 Kale, Govind Rao 440.
 Kalghi, n. 287.
 Kamarband, n. 287.
 Kambay, 257.
 Kāmil, 397.
 Kamkhwab, n. 292.
 Kāmran, Shāh, of Herat, 294.
 Kamrup, 257.
 Kandabel, 129.
 Kannauj, 363, 375.
 Kanoj, 252.
 Karachi, 257.
 Karchobi, n. 287.
 Karmān 5.
 Karnataka, 71; history of, 65.
 Karramites; 160 and note.
 Kashmir, 248, 363, 364, 373, 374.

- Kâtib, al-, Yunus, 273.
 Kathiawar, 369, 371.
 Kaul, Chatburhuj, 402.
 Kaulas, 29.
 Kazarun, offensive at, 5.
 Kâzi (See Qâdi).
 Kerch, 257.
 Khaduri, Dr. M. 432.
 Khadija, 84.
 Khaibar, battle of, 195.
 Khairat al-Qushairiyya, 9.
 Khaldûn, ibn-, Abu-Zaid Abdur-Rahmân b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Wali-ud-Din at-Tunisi al-Ishbîlî, 126, 127, 142, 143, 148, 254, 260, 381, 392.
 Khalifa, Hâjji, 188.
 Khâlid b. 'Abdullah, 9, 12.
 Khâlid, b. al-Walid, 382.
 Khâlid, Yahya bin-, 399.
 Khalilullah Khan, Mufti, Khan Bahadur, 286.
 Khallikân, ibn-, 9, 177 and note, 179 and note, n. 180, 188.
 Khandesh, 269.
 Khân-i-Jahân, 269.
 Khân-i-Khânân, Abdur-Rahim, 399.
 Kharâj, 125, n. 126, 127.
 Kharda 437, Nizam at, 438; terms of, 439 the convention of 436, 439; treaty of, 439.
 Khare, nn. 439 and 440.
 Kharijite, Chief, 1.
 Kharijites, 200.
 Khasah, n. 288.
 Khashabiyya, 9.
 Khatib, al-, 79, hereditary, 16.
 Khâthir, Šâ'ib, 277.
 Khaula bint, Thabit, 276.
 Khawak Pass, 257.
 Khawârij, 381.
 Khawâss, 142.
 Khawârizmî, al, Abu Bakr, 176, n. 177, 179, 183, 184.
 Khayyât, al-, Abu'l Husain, 152.
 Khazars, 124; land of, 254.
 Khâzin, al-, al-Isfahâni, 185.
 Khâzini, Khwajah Abdu'r Rahmân, n. 169.
 Khazraj, tribe of, 379.
 Khazrajites, n. 382.
 Khera, 33.
 Khilafat and Imamât, difference between, 199.
 Khiljis, 25.
 Khiwa (Khwarizm), 251.
 Khojas, 425.
 Khums, 125.
 Khur, 376.
 Khurasân, 128, 130, 183, 247, 254, 257; governor of, 3, n. 135; Governorship of, 14.
 Khurdadbeh ibn- (Abul-Qâsim 'Ubaidullah ibn-'Abdullah), 126, 127, 245, 249, 250.
 Khusrâu, 130; Amir, n. 283.
 Khuzistan, 5.
 Khwâja, Hâfiz of Shirâz, 32.
 Khwâja-i-Jahân, Wazir, 29, 35.
 Khwâja Jahan, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271.
 Khwâja Jalâlu'd-din, Dawâni, 34.
 Khwâja Mahmûd Gâwân, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.
 Khwâja Muhammad Sharif, 130.
 Khwâja, the death of, 130.
 Khwarizm (Khiwa), 257; lake of (Aral), 243.
 Khwârizmî, al-, (Muhammad b. Musa), 245, 262.
 Kilabi, al-, Zaid ibn 'Amr, 364.
 Kimble, G. H. T., n. 255.
 Kindi, al-, (Abu-Yûsuf Ya'qûb), 245.
 Kindi, al-, Ya'qûb, 399.
 Kirkpatrick, n. 415, n. 419.
 Kirman, 128.
 Kirmani, Husan 'Ali, n. 415.
 Kishangarh, Rajah of, 288.
 Kishtu, n. 288.
 Kistna, the, 418, 420.
 Kolas, 268.
 Korea, 246.
 Kramers, n. 245.
 Krenkow, Dr. F., nn. 253, 275 and 281.
 Krish, island of, 255.
 Krishna, 418.
 Kuban Steppes, 257, 258.
 Kuchabandi, System of, 296 and note.
 Kufa, 129, 257, 260.
 Kufans, 13.
 Kufî, al-, 'Alî ibn Hâmid ibn Abi Bakr, 362.
 Kufiy, al-, Singer, 197.
 Kulwa, 257.
 Kumari, al-, 254.
 Kumushbugha, Amir, 298; Mamlûks of, 298.
 Kutubi, n. 299.
 Kuzdar, 129.

LAHARA (SEE LAHORE)

Lahaur see Lahore

Lahuri, 257.

Lahore, n. 365, 371, 372, 374.

Lakshmichand Seth, 288.

Lamghan to Qannauj, 376.

Lammens, n. 146.

Lamta, 370.

Lane, n. 148.

Lashkar Khan, Sayyed, 61.

Lashkari, Muhammad Shāh, 271, 272.

Latīf, n. 131.

Latin-Germanic culture 262.

Law, Hindu, 423; International, 434;

Muhammadn, 423; Turkish, 433.

Law and Religion, distinction between, 423.

Leningrad, 371.

"Levantes," 31.

Levy, nn. 38, 142 and 259.

Lewis, B., nn., 142, 148 and 150.

Lighton, Lieut., 89; Thomas, 95.

Lobanas, 123.

Longhurst, A. H., 34.

Lonjuinus, 400.

Lord Chancellor, 427.

Louvre Museum, n. 36.

Lucknow, dynasty of, n. 283.

Luchiana, 290.

Luke, n. 140.

Lytton Library, n. 170.

MA'BAD, 277, 278.

Macartney, Lord, 88.

Machiavelli, 293.

Macdonald, n. 86, 165.

Mackenzie, n. 72.

Macleod, Brigadier-General, 88, 89, 92, 94, 95.

Macnaughton, Mr., 288.

Macpherson, Mr., 416, 419.

Madhav Rao Narayan, 436, 437.

Madina, founding of, 247.

Madina al-, 277, 388, 390, 391, 392; governor of, 274, 275, 279.

Madinah, migration to, 166.

Madras, 92, 94, 366; Adyar Library, 403; Government of, 65.

Madras Government, 88, 90, 95.

Madrasa of Bukhara, 432.

Madrid, 254.

Madura, n. 91.

Mafarrukhiy, al-, Mufaddal ibn Sa'd, 179 and note, n. 180, 183.

Maghrib, Berbers of, 425.

Maghribi, al-, n. 300.

Magians, altars of the, 120.

Māh Bānu, 267.

Māh Mirza Khan, 420.

Mahad, n. 438; the terms of, 439, 440; the treaty of, 438, 439, 440.

Mahābath Jung, 418, 419.

Mahanagar (Manker) (see Mankhid).

Mahāsīn, Abu'l, n. 303.

Mahaun, the Chinaman, n. 26.

Mahdi Husain, n. 25.

Mahindarpal, 377.

Mahesa, 407.

Mahfil Afroz Ba'i, 283.

Mahfuza, 129.

Māh Marātib, n. 283.

Mahmūd, n., 26, 375; Sultān, 366, 377.

Mahmūd Ba'ighra, 270.

Mhamūd Gāwān, n. 26, 28, 34, 35, 265, 267, 270.

Mahmūd Khali, 268, 269, 270.

Mahmūd of Ghazna, 374; Sultan, 252.

Mahmūd Qāri, 302.

Mahmūd Shāh Lashkari, 271, 272.

Mahommed 'Ally, 91, 92.

Mahrauli, n. 283, n. 289.

Mahri, al-, Sulaimān, 243, 244.

Mahrunnisa, the child, 130.

Maidani, al-, n. 10.

Maimūn ibn-i-Najib Wāsiti, n. 169.

Maisān, governor of, 384.

Mājid, al-, ibn, (Shihāb-ad-Din), 243, 244.

Makhduma-i-Jahān, 28, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270.

Makidah, al-, 4.

Makkiy, al-, Singer, 197.

Makran, 128, 365, 370, 371.

Malabar, 128, 243; Coast, 88, 248, 257, 414.

Malaga, 254.

Mala-i-Marwarid, n. 287.

Malaya, 243, 258.

Maldiv Islands, 257.

Maldives, 243.

Malet, 415, 418, 419, 420, 421; Sir Charles, 421.

Malhar Holkar, 60, 72.

Malik, 86.

Malik, al-, 'Abd, 12.

Malik ibn Abi Samh at-Tā'i, 278.

Malik Muhammad Jāyasi, 399.

Malik Shāh Sultān Jalāluddīn Saljūqī, 166, 170, 171, 172; reign of, 168, 170.

- Māliki system**, 433.
Māliki, Tārikh, 166; Calendar, 169.
Mālikites, 84.
Maliku'l Kuttāb, Mirza Mahdi Shirazi, n. 135.
Maliku'-sh-Shu'arā, Bahār, 50.
Malleson, 68.
Mallo Khan Dekni, 268, 269.
Mālwa, 60, 257, 268, 366; invaders, 270; markets of, 32.
Mamlūk luxury, 298.
 period, 299.
 realm, 36.
 Sultāna (see Shajarat).
 Sultāns, 36 and note.
 women, 302; costumes of, 298.
Mā'mūn, n. 38, n. 168.
Mā'mūn, al-, Caliph, 243, 245, 254, 300.
Māmūni, al-, Abu-Ṭālib, 176.
Ma'mūra, 375.
Manes, n. 140.
Mangalore, 88, 93, 94, 95, loss of, 94; treaty of, 88, n. 91, 95, 414.
Manyer, Raja of, 369.
Māni, n. 140.
Manichaeus, n. 140.
Manjak, Amir, 298, 303.
Manjra, 70.
Manker, (see Mankhed).
Mankhed, 369.
Mannu, laws introduced by, 122.
Mansuett, n. 301.
Mansuetti, n. 36.
Maṣṣūr, 78; 168; Caliph, n. 135; spirit of, 397.
Maṣṣūr, al-, Abu-Bakr b. Muhammad, al-Malik, b. Qalā'ūn, 37.
Maṣṣūra, al-, al-Malik, 256.
Maṣṣūra, 129, 375.
Mansurah, 249, 370.
Manual crafts, 142.
Manucci, 397.
Mapillahs of India, 425.
Maqdisi, al-, (Muqaddasi), 249, 250, 263; Bashshari, 362.
Maqqari, al-, n. 273.
Maqrizi nn. 298, 299, 300, 301 and 302, 303 and note.
Maraghah, 170.
Maratha army, 66, 417.
 camp, 420.
 Chiefs, 415, 417.
 districts, 418.
 fleet, 89.
 power, 414.
 Sardars, 440.
 territories, 438.
Marathas, 60, 61, 62, 66, 91, 414, 416, 417, 421, 436, 437; alliance with, 419; influence of the, 59.
Marco Polo, 257, 258.
Margin, on the 'A Farman of Farrukh Siyar, 441.
 A sketch of the idea of education in Islam, 317.
 Addendum, 330.
 Ahd-Namah, the Document of the Prophet, 209.
 Intercalation in the Qur-'ān and the Ḥadith, 327.
 Munshi, the Author of Sussi Punnun, 206.
 Observations on Music in Muslim India, 444.
Margoliouth, n. 182.
Marratha Government, 421.
Martineau, n. 457.
Marwan ibn al-Ḥakam, 277.
Marwazi, al-, Ja'far b. Aḥmad, 246.
Mary, 272.
Masalah, n. 283.
Mashhad, 247, 257.
Massignon, V., n. 148.
Mas'ūd, 252.
Mas'ūdi, al-, n. 152, 180, 244, 249, 260, 367, 368, 369, 377, nn. 378, and 379.
Masulipatam, 272.
Mathugiri, 70.
Māturidi, al-, al-Imām Abu-Manṣūr, 164.
Mauphuz Cawn, 71.
Mauritius, governor of, 417.
Mausil, al-, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, 232, 276, 278.
Māwardi, al-, 10, 382, 387.
Māwiyya, Abi-, 9.
Māzini, al-, Abu 'Abdullah Muḥammad b. 'Abdur-Rahim, al-Qaisi al-Andalusī, 254.
Mecca, 257, 277, congregation at, 244; founding of, 247; Hajj at, 257; pilgrimage to, 254, visit to, n. 36.
Medes, 124.
Medicine, 19.
Mediterranean coastal regions, 244.
Mediterranean, the, 255.
Meerut, 294.

- Mehta, 363.
 Memons, 425.
 Merv, 256.
 Mesopotamia, 247, 257.
 Metcalfe House, n. 297.
 Mianeh, Abdul-Hakim, 420.
 Michael, 407.
 Middes, 375.
 Middle Ages, 262, 431; Hindus n. 403;
 Muslims in, 403.
 Mihna, Abu-Sa'id of, 136.
 Miller, K., 262, 263.
 Minorsky, V., n. 245, 251, n. 262.
 Minstrels of the Golden Age of Islam,
 273.
 Minstrels, Umayyad, 274.
 Mir Khan, Muhammad, 283.
 Mirza Yūsuf Khan, I'tiṣāmī, 49.
 Mirzapur, 294.
 Miskawaih, ibn-, 181.
 Misra, Bachaspati, 401.
 Mohammad, 43.
 Mohurs, gold, 417.
 Mombasa, 257.
 Mongol hordes, 245.
 Mongol inroads, 169.
 Mongols, 34, 255, 256, scholars under,
 170.
 Montigny, Mons, 417.
 Morocco, 254, 258.
 Morgan, Col., Charles, 414.
 Morlat, Mr. Pierson, de
 Moscow, 242.
 Moses, 155, 195.
 Mosul, 256; Ishāq of, 246.
 Mosili, al-, Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥam-
 mad al-Anṣārī, 255.
 Moti Masjid, 130.
 Mu'adh, 424.
 Mu'āwiyah, 119, 177, 198, 200, 395.
 ibn Abi-Sufyān, 274, 277.
 Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla, 177, 181, 182, 194.
 Mubārak Khan, 265, 266.
 Mubarrad, al-, n. 2, testimony of, 10.
 Mucat, 258.
 Muchadon Aly, Seyed, 72.
 Mudgal, 29, Parthal of, 33.
 Mudhoji, Bhonsla, 417.
 Mufaḍḍal, ibn Sa'd al-Māfarrukhy, 179
 and note, n. 180.
 Muftis, Institution of, 428.
 Mughal conception, 133
 emperors, 431.
 Empire, 132, 429.
 period, 133.
 rule, history of, 397.
 Mughals, 15; garden-tombs of the, 132.
 Mughira, al-, 9; b. Habna, 14.
 Muhallab, al-, command of, 1; contribu-
 tion of, 5.
 Muhallab, al-, b.-Abi-Sufra, strategy of,
 1, qualities of generalship of, 1,
 organisation of, 1.
 Muhallab, al-, 1, 14.
 Muhallabi, 251, 374, al-; Vazier, 193.
 Muhajirin, 379, 380.
 Muhammad, n. 26, 27, 32.
 Prince, n. 27.
 Reality or Idea of, 407.
 the Prophet, 19, 151, 242.
 Muhammad, I, 26 and note, 28, 29.
 II, 26 and note, 28.
 III, Shams'ud-din, 27 and note
 n. 28, 34.
 Muhammad 'Alī, Nawab of Arcot, 65,
 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75,
 76, 92.
 b. 'Alī al-Hanbali, 80.
 b. Musa al-Khwārizmi, 245.
 b. Qalā'ūn, n. 36, 37.
 b. Shākir, n. 77.
 bin Tughluq, 25.
 ibn Qāsim, 19, 120, 121, 123, 129,
 362, 364, 376.
 Husain, Mir, 419, 420, 421.
 Shāh, 402.
 Shāh, the Emperor, 57.
 Shāh I, 30.
 Shāh II, 30, 31.
 Shāh Lashkari, 271, 272.
 Tughluq, Sultān, 257, 258.
 Muhammadabad, n. 27.
 Muhammadan Law, 423.
 Muharram, Edict of, 300.
 Muhibb al-Din al-Khaṭīb, 79.
 Muhibullah, Shāh, 268.
 Muhtariz, ibn-, 276.
 Mu'in-ud-Din, Mir, 420.
 Mu'izz, al-, al-Malik, n. 299.
 Mujāhid, 26 and note, 31.
 Mukhtār, al-, 6.
 Mulla Shāh, 397.
 Muller, Max, 401, 403.
 Multān n. 126, 127, 128, 129, 249, 257,
 365, 368, 369, 370, 374, 375.
 Munajjim, al-, 254, Bani, 179.
 Munshi, the author of Sussī Punnun,
 206, 207, 208, 209.
 Muqarrab Khan, 31.

- Muqtadir, al-, Caliph, 248.
 Murhar, Raw, 69.
 Muriel Clayton, n. 36.
 Murtaḍa, al-, al-Zaidi, n. 154.
 Musa, ath-Thaqafi, 362.
 Musa Khan, 31.
 Musa b. 'Abdullah b. Khāzim, 14.
 Mus'ab, wars of, 6.
 Mushabbiha, al-, 167.
 Mushiru'l-Mulk, 418.
 Musi river, 28.
 Music in Muslim India, 444.
 Musil, n. 300.
 Muslim, Abu-, 135, 136.
 Muslim architecture, 132.
 astronomers, 168, 169.
 Muslim b. 'Ubais, n. 3.
 Muslim community, 14, 381.
 contributions, 245.
 geographers, 254, 255, 262.
 geographical thought, 242.
 Geographical work, 245.
 India, Music in, 444.
 jurisconsults, 429.
 law, 46, 119.
 maritime leadership, 261.
 organisation, 45.
 peoples, 435.
 period, 429.
 philosophers, 405.
 poetry, 399.
 Polity, 40.
 religion, 426.
 rule in India, 399.
 scholars, 167, 399.
 School of Mysticism, 408.
 Society, 380, 430, 431; struc-
 ture of, 42.
 Spain, 258.
 State, 43, 44, 47, 119.
 theology, 44.
 world, 242, 261.
 Muslims, 17; calendar of, 167, institutions
 of the, 40; life-history of, 41; non-
 Azariqa, 1.
 Muslims of Spain, 273.
 Musta'in-billah, al-, 38.
 Mustakfi-billah, al-, 37 and note n. 38.
 Mustamsik-billah, al-, Yāqūb, 38.
 Musta'sim, al, 256.
 Mu'tasim-billah, al-, Zakariyya, n. 38,
 245, 300.
 Mu'tadid, al-, n. 37, 167; the Caliph
 247.
 Mutanabbi, al-, 180, 187.
 Mutawakkil-'ala-Allah, al-, Muḥammad, b.
 Yā'qūb, 37 and note, 167.
 Mutayyam, invented by, 300.
 Mu'tazilites, 152, 153, 154, 158, 165,
 179, 184, 201, 203.
 Mutiny, 295, 296, 297.
 Muthamman Burj, 289.
 Muzaffar Jang, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 66.
 Muzesi, Topkau Suaray, n. 302.
 Muzun, Sorcerer of, 11.
 Mysore, 369, 415; Raja of, 72, n. 92,
 the Chief of, 421.
 Mysore ruler, treaty of, 471.
 Mysore rulers, conquered by the, 418.
 Mysticism, 16; Hindu School of, 40;
 Islamic, 411, Muslim School of,
 408.
 NABATA, IBN-, 176
 Nadim, an-, ibn, 246
 Nadiri, n. 55
 Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, followers of, 1.
 Nāfi' b. Jubair, 156.
 Nāfi' ibn Ṭanbūra, n. 278.
 Nāfidh (see Dalal).
 Nafisi (Sa'id-i-), nn. 139 and 140.
 Nāghāt, 376.
 Nahār b. Tausi'a, 14.
 Nahrawān, battle of, 195.
 Na'im, an-, Abu-'Abd, n. 274.
 Najdah, al-, 4.
 Najafgarh, 291.
 Najmuddaulah Ghulam Haidar Khan
 Saif Jung, 417.
 Nakhil, an-, n. 156.
 Nallino, 245.
 Nana Sahib, n. 75.
 Nana Farnavis, 414, 415, 417, 418, 436,
 437, 438, 439, 440.
 Nanu Punt, 438.
 Napoleonic method, 5.
 Narayana 401.
 Narbada, 61, 62, 63.
 Nargis Bānu, Agha, 265, 266.
 Narsingh, 33.
 Nasser Jang (Lashkar Khan), 61.
 Naṣir, an-, al-Malik, Muḥammad b.
 Qalā'ūn, n. 38.
 Naṣir Jang, 57, 58, 59, 70, 61, 62, 63,
 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74.
 Naṣir-ud-din b. Shibl, 301.
 Nāṣirul-Mulk Mughal 'Alī Khan, 418.
 Naṣr II b. Aḥmad, 136.

- Natal, modern, 244.
 Naumat ad-Duḥa, 277.
 Nauroz, 168, 171.
 Nawāwi, n. 300, 432.
 Nergund, 415; siege of, 417.
 Nicholson, nn. 138, 178 and 186.
 Niger, the, 244, 258.
 Nile, the, 255.
 Nimah-astin, n. 287.
 Ni'matullah Khan, Khwaja, 63 and note.
 Nimtaj Khanum, n. 49.
 Nirūn, 122.
 Nishan-i-aspi-shutri, n. 287.
 Nishāpur, 256, 257.
 Nizam, 58, 91, 377, 14, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 437, 438, 439, 440, ceded to the 438; claims of the, 437; court of the, 417, forces of the, 419, peace with the, 400; Sardar of the, 440; troops of the, 420.
 Nizām 'Ali, Nawab, 414, 417.
 Nizām 'Ali Khan, Nawab Mir, 437.
 Nizām of Hyderabad, 284, 417.
 Nizām's Court, the British agent at, 419.
 Nizām's Dominions, 27, 377, 439.
 Nizām, Shāh, 266, 268.
 Nizāmi, 376, 399.
 Nizāmud-din Aḥmad III, 27 and note, n. 28.
 Nizāmūl Mulk, 57, 60, 71, 76, 269, 271.
 Nizāmūl Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I, 63, 74.
 Noah, 151.
 North Africa, 433.
 North-West Frontier Province, 371, 374.
 Northern India, 434.
 Nu'mān, an-, ibn Bashir, 276.
 Nu'mān b. 'Adi al-'Adawi, 384.
 Nūr-Jahān, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134.
 Nūr Muḥammad Khan, 415.
 Nūrud-dīn Jāmi, Maulana, 35.
 Nūr-ud-Din, Sayyid, 417.
 Nūrī, an-, Abū'l-Husayn, 405.
 Nuṣrati, 399.
 Nūwairi, an-, 273, 300.
 OM, YOGIS, 409.
 Oman, n. 3.
 'Omar, 77, 85.
 Orange, Prince of, 289.
 Orissa, 268, 269, 272.
 Orme, 65, 66, 68, 71, 92.
 Osmān, Master, n. 36.
 Ostrorog, Count Leon, n. 433. n. 435.
 Otto the Great, 253.
 Ottoman empire, 431.
 Ottoman Turks, 435.
 Oudh, 361, 366; Qanauj in, 361.
 PANCH MAHIYAT, (SEE KASHMIR).
 Pacific, the, 261.
 Palankeen, 373.
 Palerma, court of, 254.
 Palestine, 249, 255, 257, 258.
 Palki Jhalardar, n. 287.
 Panjab, Rajputs in the, n. 123.
 Pankhas, 289.
 Parasnis, 73.
 Pargregy, Captain, 295.
 Parsharam Bhau, 437, 438.
 Parthal of Mudgal, 33.
 Paul, Deussen, 400, 403.
 Paulus Jovius n. 36.
 Parvin, 49, 54, 55, 56.
 Parvin-i-I'tisāmī, 49.
 Patanjali, 411.
 Pataudi, Nawab of, 288.
 Pathan, tombs of the, 133.
 Peacock Throne, 282, 286, 287.
 Peking, 258.
 Perron, du, Anquetil, 400.
 Persia, 29, 135, 434; Dihqāns of, 425, immigrants from, 27; immigrated into, 136; Sassanid emperors of, 167.
 Persian, neo-, poetess of, 135; neo-poetry, 49.
 architecture, 34.
 calendar, 167, 170, 171.
 civilization, 167.
 dynasty, 29.
 emblem, 33.
 empire, n. 126, 242.
 Gulf to Qannauj, 371.
 influence, 34.
 language, 295.
 literature, history of, 49.
 maritime activity, 243.
 poetry, 54, 135.
 Year, 167.
 Persians, 13, 124, 168, arabicized, 19.
 Pertapa Sing, 66, 72, 73.
 Peshawar, 366.
 Peshwa, 60, 72, 417, 419, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440; court of the, 436.
 Peshwaship, 438.
 Phadkay, Baba, 437.
 Phadke, Hari Pant, 417.
 Pharaoh, 155.

- Pickthall, Muḥammad Marmaduke, 15, n. 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 162, 163.
- Pierson de Morlat, 90.
- Pingle, 440.
- Pliny, 242.
- Poland, 243.
- Poligars, the rebellious, 58.
- Political Theory, Islamic, 39.
- Polity, Muslim; 40, Islamic, 42, 45, 47.
- Pondicherry, 68, 69, 71, 416; French Governor at, 61; 70, General of, 417, Historical Society at, 65, the French at, 76.
- Poona, 369, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 436, 439, 440.
- Poona Court, 440.
- Poona Darbar, 414, 415.
- Pope, 40.
- Portalani (Portolano) charts, 261.
- Portuguese, 261.
- Posidominus, 262.
- Prakrits, 400.
- Prophet, 17, 18, 39, 40, 43, 47, n. 48, 78, 87, 166, 178, 199, 204, 378, 381, 384, 424, 425, 426, 432; according to the, 10; death of the, 378; practice of the, 424; revelation to the, 433; traditions of the, 424, the document of the,
- Ptolemy, 341, 242, 243, 244, 145, 255, 256, 261, 262.
- Punjab, 364, 366, 368, 371, 374, 425
- Pyrenees, heights of the, 242.
- QADAR, 365.
- Qādi Muḥammad Dayam, 61.
- Qādi Shuraiḥ, 81.
- Qadid (al-Kadid), 156.
- Qadis, 429.
- Qaini, al-, Abu Ṭamahān, 280, 281.
- Qairawān, 260.
- Qais, ibn-, ar-Ruqayyāt, nn. 276 and 277.
- Qaiyyim, ibn (al-), n. 78, 79, 84.
- Qala'dār, n. 286.
- Qalandar, royal, 389.
- Qala'unid princes, n. 302.
- Qalqashandi, nn. 37, 38, and 300.
- Qamruddin (Vizier), 59.
- Qand, 277.
- Qandahar, 130, 366.
- Qandhar, 32, 128, 269, 270; battle of, 271; siege of, 397.
- Qannauj, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377; Boundaries of, 369; City of, 361; historical description of, 361; in Sind, 361; location of, 367; Persian Gulf to, 371; Raja of, 363, 368; rule of, 363.
- Qanauj in Oudh, 361, 374.
- Qannauj to Tibet, 370.
- Qansūh al-Ghauri, 37.
- Qari Maḥmūd, 302.
- Qāshāni, 181.
- Qāsim ath-Thaqafi, 363.
- Qāsim ibn-, Muḥammad, 362, 364, 376.
- Qatari b. al-Fujā'a, 6.
- Qāyṭbay, Sulṭān, 301.
- Qazwin, Ṭāliqān of, 179.
- Qazwinī, 142, 248; Zakariya, 256.
- Qinnauj in Sind, 362.
- Qīqān, 2.
- Qiyas, 425.
- Quartremere, n. 301.
- Qūbā, al-, 11.
- Qubacha, Amir-i-, 362.
- Qubā'iy, al- al-Isfāhāni, 176 and note, 179, 185.
- Qudāma, n. 126, 248.
- Queen Victoria, 292.
- Qum, 55.
- Quraish, 18, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386.
- Quraishite, n. 278, n. 382.
- Qur'an, 39, 43, 81, 83, 86, 424, 425; announcements of the, 242; commands and prohibitions in the, 17, 18, compared with the, 425; exegesis of the, 32; study of the, 399; text of the, 425.
- Qur'an and the Hadith, Intercalation in the, 327.
- Qushairiyya, al-, Khairat, 9.
- Qutaiba, ibn-, n. 2, 9, 273, n. 281.
- Qutb Minār, 288.
- Qutb Ṣāhib, n. 283, 290.
- Qutb, the, 282, 283, 285.
- Qutb-u'd-din, Aibak; 28.
- Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kāki, n. 283.
- Qutbud-din Mubārak Shāh Khilji, 25.
- Quzdār, 135; Rabi'a of, 135.

- RABIA**, 135, 136.
Rabia bint-i Ka'b of Quzdari, 135.
Rabbihi, ibn Abd-, 273.
Raḍia, Sultāna, 265.
Rāghib al-Iṣfahāni, n. 184.
Raghoba, war of, 415.
Raghuji Bhonsale, 438.
Raghunath Rao, 440.
Ragotim Rao, 437, 440.
Rāhib, ar-, ibn n. 301.
Raichur, 268, 414, 418, 419, 421.
Raisz, n. 262.
Raja Rama Mohan Rai, 400.
Rajahmundry, Nawab of, 63.
Rajas, 121.
Rajiyapal, 377.
Rajmundry 268.
Rajputs, in the Panjab, n. 123.
Ramanujacharya, 401.
Rampur, 369.
Ramayan, 372.
Ranade, 401, 403.
Rangin Mahal, 33.
Rasa Khan, 399.
Rasal (see Sephras).
Rashid Riḍa, Muḥammad, n. 79.
Rastia, 420.
Rasul Muḥammad Khan, 58.
Rawar, 122.
Ray (Rayy), ar-, 181, n. 183, 205.
Rayadrug, 70.
Raymond, under the command of, 440.
Raza 'Alī Khan, 61.
Rāzi, ar-, al-Imām Fakhr ad-Din, 161 and note, n. 163, 164.
Rāzi, ar-, Shams'ud-Din Muḥammad ibn-i-Qaus, n. 137, 141.
Records Department, Imperial, n. 88.
Revolution, Turkish, 435.
Reza Shah Phalavi, 49.
Riḍa Qulī Khan Hīdāyat, 135, 137.
Rifa'at-al-Juhani, 156.
Ritter, n. 36.
Roer, 401.
Roger II, 254.
Roger, King of Sicily, 263.
Roman Empire, n. 126, 242.
 Trade, 243.
 type of calendar, 167.
Romans, 169, 244, 262.
Rousseau, 42.
Rowtee, Mr., 362.
Rudaki, 135, 136, n. 140.
Rukn-ud-Dowla ibn-Buwayah, 179.
Rumi, Jalāluddin, 404.
Ruqād, al-, 13.
Ruqayyāt, ar-, ibn-Qais, n. 276, n. 277.
Ruska, J., n. 142.
Russia, southern, 243.
Rustah, ibn-, (Abu 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Rustah), 247.
Rustami, ar-, Abi-Sa'id, 176, 179.
Rustum, 67.

ṢABA, MUHAMMAD MUẒAFFAR HUSAYN, n. 135.
Sabha, Nagari Pracharini, 400.
Ṣābi, as-, Abu-Ishāq, 176, 185.
Sabur (Shapur), 16.
Sachau, nn. 252 and 253.
Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, 277, 391.
Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 379, 380, 381, 386.
Sadduck, Md., 75, 76.
Sadlier, 95.
Sadr al-Shari'a, n. 82.
Sadr-amin, n. 286.
Sadr-i-Jahān, Shustary, 271.
Sadr Jahān, 32.
Sadruddin, n. 187.
Sadr-us-Sūdūr, n. 286.
Safdar Khan, Sistāni, 31.
Safdar Jang, 59, 60, 61, 62.
Ṣafi-'ud-din Shāh, 132.
Ṣagar, rebellion of, 30.
Ṣaḥābā, 390, 393, 394.
Sahara, 244.
Sāhib, aṣ-, ibn 'Abbād, Abu'al-Qāsim Isma'il, ibn abī al-Ḥasan, 'Abbād ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abbād, ibn Aḥmad ibn Idrīs at-Tāliqāni, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, nn. 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205.
 "Ṣāhibqirān-i-Dil" 397.
Sahistan, City of, 122.
Ṣā'ib Khāthir, 277.
Sa'id, Abu-, 136.
Saifuddin Gore, 272.
Saifud-dowla, n. 187.
Sa'id ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit, 275, 276.
Sa'id ibn al-'As, 277.
Sa'id ibn Muḥammad al-'Ijlī, 280.
Sair-i-Gulfaroshān, 289.

- Saiyar ibn Rai Badal Rai, 363; 376.
 Sajun Lal, n. 436.
 Sakhāwī, 35, n. 37, n. 38.
 Ṣalābat Jang, 67, 74, 75.
 Ṣalābat Khan Dhulfiqār Jung, 59.
 Ṣalami, as-, Abul Husain, 176 and note.
 Salapur, 372.
 Salar of Shirāz, 50, n. 55.
 Salabai, Treaty of, 414.
 Salem, 70.
 Salpari, 372.
 Ṣalih, 78.
 Ṣalihāni, al-, Father Anton, n. 164.
 Ṣaljūqi Empire, 167.
 Ṣaljuqi, Sultān Jalāluddin Malik Shāh, 166.
 Salm al-Khāsir, n. 277.
 Salmān Farsi, 151.
 Salpi Ghats, 438.
 Salunon, 289.
 Sam'āni, n. 135.
 Samanid Court, 248.
 Samaritans, 300.
 Samarra (Surra-man-ra'a), 245, 246.
 Samhūdi, as-, As-Sayyid ash-Sharif Nur-
 ruddin 'Ali, n. 156.
 Samru, Begam, 291, 293.
 Ṣamṣām-ad-Dowla, 182.
 San'ā', 249.
 Sane, n. 436.
 Sankara, 402, 408.
 Sankaracharya, 401.
 Sankarananda, 401.
 Sanskrit, 252; mystical works in, 398,
 phonetics of, 400.
 Sanskrit works translated into Persian,
 399.
 Saqati, as-, nn. 142, 144, 145, 146, 149.
 Saqifa of Banu Ṣā'ida, 379, 386.
 Saracens, contact with the, 431; successes
 of the, 3.
 Saracenic women, 298.
 Sarakhsi (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad aṭ-
 Tayyib), 245.
 Sardhana, palace in, 292.
 Sardinia, 258.
 Sarkar, J., nn. 61 and 72.
 Sarpech, n. 287.
 Sarrāj, Abul-Nasr, 408.
 Sarup Singh Rajah, of Jindh, 292.
 Sassanid emperors, 167.
 Sassanids, n. 126.
 Satara, 437.
 Ṣa'ūdi Arabia, regulations of, n. 147.
 Saunders, n. 91.
 Sauvaget, Prof., J., n. 301.
 Sāwa, 183.
 Sawdā' ibn'l-, 394.
 Scandinavian countries, 243.
 Schefer, n. 36.
 Schelling, 400.
 Scholten, n. 300.
 Schopenhaur, 400.
 Schrader, 403.
 Schreiner, n. 77.†
 Scythians, 242.
 Seistan, 474.
 Seljuqids, 29.
 Semitic civilization, 29.
 Sen, Dr. S. N., 95.
 Senegal, 244.
 Sephras ibn Rasal, 376.
 Sera, 69, 70.
 Seraphiel, 407.
 Serapion, ibn-, 247.
 Seringapatam, 93, 95.
 Seth, 151.
 Sha'ban, Sultān al-Malik al-Kāmil, n. 302.
 Shāfi'ī, 86.
 Shafi'ī, ash-, As-Sayyid al-Sharif Nurud-
 din 'Ali as-Samhūdi, n. 156.
 Shafi'ite doctor, 432.
 Shafi'ite System, 434.
 Shafites, 84.
 Shah 'Alam, 282, 284.
 Shah Bazar Mosque, 31.
 Shah Jahan, 285.
 Shah Nawāz Khan, 61, 67.
 Shāh Tahmāsp, 130.
 Shah Waliullah, nn. 380 and 381.
 Shāh of Irān, 294.
 Shahriastani, ash-, n. 152.
 Shahriyar, ibn-, Buzurg, 243, 244, 476.
 Shahrīyar, 134, 167.
 Shahu, Raja, 70.
 Shaibāni, ash-, Abu-Halim, 363.
 Shaikh Shihābuddin Suharwardi, 35.
 Shaizar 'Ali ibn Ja'far of, 247.
 Shajarat ad-Durr, 299, 302.
 Shakarkhora, 29.
 Shakranwan in Bihar, n. 78.
 Shamistan, 248.
 Shams ad-Din Abu 'Abdallah, n. 77.
 Shamsud-din, 27.
 Shamsud-din Dāwūd II, n. 26.
 Shamsud-din Muḥammad III, 27 and
 note, 28.
 Shamsud-Din Muḥammad ibn-i-Qays
 ar-Rāi, n. 137.

- Shanoor (Savnur) fall of, 420, the Nawab of 420.
- Shāpur, (Sābur), 167.
- Shaghab, battle of, 27.
- Sharafi, ash-, n. 280.
- Sharf-ud-din Khan, Hakim, 283, 286.
- Sharia, minutiae of the, 435
- Shariat (Sharī'a) 423, 427.
- Shariat Act 1937, 425.
- Sharif Khan, Sayyed, 61.
- Sharif, Khwaja Muhammad, 130.
- Sheabud din Cawn Vizier, 74.
- Shelkar, Abba, 440.
- Sherif Mahomed, 68.
- Sherwāni, n. 26, n. 29, 35.
- Shi'a creed, 200, Tafdīlī, 200
- Shi'as, 85.
- Shibl, Nāsir ud-din b., 301.
- Shihābud-din Ahmad I, n. 27.
- Shihābuddin Ghori, 376, 377.
- Shihābuddin Khan, Bahadur, Fatteh Jang, 76
- Shiraz, 247, 250, 257, 365, 366; Khwaja Hāfiz of, 32; Salar of, 50 n. 55.
- Shiite, 201; jurisprudence, 434.
- Shivaji, Janardhan, 440.
- Shraqi, ash-, ibn-, Hanzala, 280.
- Shuhba, Qadi, ibn, n. 300.
- Shuja'at Jang, 61.
- Shura, 388, 389, 391, 392.
- Shuraih, Qādi, 81.
- Shu'ūbiy, 178 and note.
- Sicily, 254; Christian King of, 254.
- Siddeqta, 440.
- Siddiq Hasan Khan Bahadur, Nawab, n. 85.
- Siddiqi, A. M., n. 31.
- Šidoq, as-, 176.
- Šiffin, 195.
- Sijistan, 128; limit of, 3.
- Sikandara, 130, 133.
- Sikander Khan, 269.
- Sikri, Fatehpur, 133.
- Sill-wa-Sillabra, victory at, 6, 11, 12.
- Sinā, ibn- 'Alī, 259.
- Sind, 119, nn. 120 and 121, 122, 128, 361, 365, 366, 369, 370, 371, 374, 376; Arab administration of, 119, Arab Governors of, 120, 220; assessment on, 12; conquest of, 119, 362, Qannauj in, 361; rulers of, 362; the rivers, 366, 368.
- Sindbad the sailor, 243, 244.
- Sindhia, 417; Jayaji, 60, 72; Mahadaji, 414.
- Sindia, 438, 439; Daulat Rao, 437, 439
- Sindian troops, 124.
- Sindians, nn 120 and 121, 124.
- Sinha, N. K., n. 414.
- Sinha, Sidharaj Jaya of Gujrat, n. 123.
- Sinope, 257.
- Sipar, n. 287.
- Sirāf, 257.
- Sirafi, Abu-Zaid, 243, 246, 361, 364, 377
- Širafi, ash-Shaikh Abu-Sa'id, 187.
- Sirāj-ud-din, n. 284.
- Sirpi, 70.
- Sirsa, 257.
- Sistān, 248.
- Sivasthan, Raja of, 363.
- Skinner, Col., 282, 288, 297.
- Slav, 253.
- Smith, Vincent, n. 131, 361, 377.
- Sohan Lal, Rajah, 283, 284, 285.
- Solha, Khamb Masjid, 33.
- Somnath, 253.
- Sonargaon, 258.
- Sorcerer of Muzun, 11.
- Soubha, 417.
- Souillac, Vicomte, de, 417.
- Spain, 250, 251, 254, 260; Arab of, 273; Muslim, 58; Muslims of, 273.
- Spain to Afghanistan, 168.
- Spaniards, 90
- Sprenger, 248.
- Srinivas Row; Wakil, nn, 89 and 91.
- State interests, of the, 8; premier of the, 436; Supreme office of the, 436.
- Staunton, 95.
- Strabo, 242.
- Strange, Le, 247, n. 251.
- Subedar of Agra, 59; of Berar, 61; of the Deccan, 57, 58, 60, 66.
- Subhayyan, Wakil, 69.
- Subramaniam, 73.
- Subuktagin, 374.
- Sudan, 244, 251, 255; geography of, 251.
- Sufdar Ali Khan, 67, 75
- Sūfi, Abdur-Rahman, 263.
- Šūfi influence, 151.
- Sufi philosophy, 398.
- Sufistic cosmologies, 407.
- Sufistic works, 399.
- Šufra, abi-, sons of, 2.
- Sufyān, Abu-, n. 383.
- Suharwardi, Shaikh Shihābuddin, 35.
- Sukaina bint al-Hassān, 277.
- Sukhar, 257.
- Sulaimān, al-Mahri, 243.
- Sulaimān, the merchant, 243.

- Sulaimān Nadavi, M., 166, n. 245, n. 256, n. 261.
 Sulaimān Research series, 429.
 Sulami, as-, Arrām b. al-Asbaj, 246.
 Sultān Begam, 285.
 Sumatra, 258; communities in, 425.
 Sunna, the, 424.
 Sunnis, 85.
 Suraij, ibn 'Ubaidullah, 277.
 Surat, 290.
 Surgery, 19.
 Sushtry, Sadr-i-Jahān, 271.
 Sussi Punnun, the Author of, (Munshi), 206.
 Suter, H., 166, 175.
 Sutlej, 368.
 Suyūti, 36, nn. 37 and 38, n. 186, 188, nn. 298.
 Sweden; 243.
 Swiss Code 425; 426.
 Sylhet, 258.
 Syria, 249, 255, 256, 257, 258; Ottoman conquest of, n. 299.
 Syyed Lashkar Khan (Naseer Jang), 61.
- TABARĪ, n. 379.
 Tabaristān, 182.
 Tabriz, 256.
 Taeschner, n. 151.
 Taftazāni, at-, 165.
 Taghriberdi, ibn-, nn. 37 and 38, 298, 300, nn. 301 and 303.
 Tāhir, Aba-Muslim, ibn Muḥammad, 183.
 Tahirid Court, 246.
 Tahmāsp, Shāh, 130.
 Tahsin, Oz, n. 36.
 Tā'i, at-, (Malik) Ibn- Samḥ, 278.
 Taimiyya, ibn-, n. 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, n. 299.
 Taj, 134.
 Taj-Mahal, 130, 285, 286.
 Taj Mahal Begam, 290.
 Takht Mahal, 33.
 Talarigatlu road, 34.
 Talha, n. 9, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395.
 Tāliqān, 179, 180.
 Talmarensis, Dionysius, 124.
 Talpurs, 128.
 Tangier, 257.
 Tanjore, Raja of, 66, 72, 73.
 Taqi ad-Din Abu'l-Abbās Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Halim, n. 77.
- Tāriqī, at-, Muḥammad, 253.
 Tartar destruction, 256.
 Tartar hordes, 256.
 Tartar male dress, n. 301.
 Tasawwuf, 404.
 Tatyā, Ballo, 437.
 Tauhidi, at-, Abu-Hayyān, 176, 181.
 Tayyib, al-, ibn, 274.
 Tegh Jung, Abu-Faṭḥ, 417.
 Tehrān, 55, 371; born at, 49; family of, 130, 132.
 Telugu Country, 268.
 Temur, House of, 90, 296.
 Tennyson, g. 53.
 Tha'ālibī, ath-, 176, 183, 186.
 Thābit, Abul-Hasan, b. Qurrah', 245.
 Thābit, b. Qais, 383.
 Thaqafi, ath, Musa, 362.
 Thaqafi, ath-, Qāsim, 363, 364.
 Theodore de Bry, n. 36.
 Thorn, Mr., 288.
 Thorning, n. 151.
 Tibet 251, 371.
 Tibet to Qannauj, 370.
 Tigris, 78, 246, 247.
 Tihāma, the mountains of, 246.
 Tilangana army, 269.
 Tilangana, raya of, 30.
 Timbaktu, 255.
 Timūr Shah, Mirza, 284, 285.
 Tipū Sultān, 88, nn. 89 and 91, 94, 95, 414, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420; conduct of, 416; confederacy against, 417, defeat of, 418; restored by, 421; Tipoo Sahi Nabob Tipu Sultan Bihādut, 89; treaty with, 419.
 Tipū's territory, 417.
 Tirmidhi, n. 424.
 Tondimans country, 72.
 Topkapu Saray Muzesi, n. 302.
 Toumansky, Capt., n. 251.
 Treaty of Mangalore, 414.
 Treaty of Salbai, 414.
 Traditions, 424.
 Translation, French, 400; Latin, 400.
 Transoxiana, 3, 267.
 Trechnopoly, 68, 72, 73, 91 and note, 92, 93, 421.
 Tritton, n. 300.
 Tughlaq, Firoz Shāh, 399.
 dominions, 26.
 faction, 29.
 style, 29.
 tradition, 31.

- Tughluqs, 25.
 Tukoji, Holkar, 321.
 Tulaida, 383.
 Tūlūn ibn-, nn. 299 and 301.
 Tūnbūra, ibn-, 278.
 Tungabudra (Tungabhadra) the, 69, 70, 418, 419.
 Tunis, 257, 258, 260.
 Turān, 365.
 Turani party, 60.
 Turk, (see Khwaja Jahān).
 'Turk' horsemen, 2.
 Turkey, 433, 435.
 Turkish dynasty, 29.
 law, 433.
 Revolution, 435.
 Turkistan, 128, 251, 371.
 Turks, 124, 435.
 Turquoise throne, 267.
 Turrah, n. 287.
 Tūs, 247, 257.
 Tūsi 170.
 Tūwais 273 274.
 Tyabji nn. 424 425 and 426.
 Tyan Emile 427 428 and note.
- U'BAIDULLAH (SEE SURAIJ).**
 'Ubaidullah b. Abi Bakr, 3.
 'Ubais, ibn-, 1.
 Ubulla, 128.
 Uchh, Qādi of, 362.
 Udgir, 417.
 Uḥad, battle of, 195.
 Ujjain, n. 365, 366, 375.
 'Ukbari, 255.
 'Ukhuwwa, al-, ibn, n. 142.
 Ukraine, 257, 258.
 Ulugh Beg, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 432.
 Umayyad (Umayyad) period, 119, 242.
 Uman, 128, 249, 257.
 'Umar, 378, 379, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 387, 388, 289, 392.
 'Umar, Caliph, 2 3, 81, 85, 199, n. 123, 124, 166, 199, 200, 426; election of, 384, 389.
 'Umar b. Shabba, 391.
 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullah, campaign by, 1, 4, 13.
 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 275, 126.
 'Umar Khaiyyām, 166, 169, 170.
 Umayya, 384.
 Umayyad days, 281.
 Umayyads (Umayyads), 14, 119, 167, 199, 389, 391, 395, 396.
- Umayyid agents, 390, 393, 395.
 'Ummāra ibn al-Walid ibn al-Mughira, 276.
 Upnekhat, Dara's, 400; the Persian, 400.
 Upanishads, number and text of the, 400, 401; the, 397, 398, 402; translation of the, 398.
 'Urūji, 32.
 'Usāma, n. 299.
 'Ushri, 125.
 'Utbi, 377.
 'Uthmān, Abū-, 276.
 Uthman b. Daqmāq, 38.
 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaidullah b. Ma'mar, 1, n. 3.
 'Uthmān, blood of, 393, Caliph, 18, 119, 198, 199, 200, 274, 387, 389, 390, 391, 395, election of, 382, 384, 386, 387, 388; murder of, 390.
- VACHASPATI Misra, 401.**
 Valencia, 254.
 Validi, Ahmed Zaki of Turkey, n. 247, 248.
 Vallabhari (see Balhara), 369, 374.
 Vasco da Gama, 243.
 Vedanta, 404, 410.
 Venice, ateliers, n. 36.
 Venkateramanayya, n. 26.
 Versailles, court of, 416; treaty of, 88.
 Vicomte de Souillac, 417.
 Victoria, Queen, 292.
 Vijayanagar, 32, 34; campaign against, 31, 33, court of, 35; pyrotechny at, n. 26, the raya of, 33.
 Vincent Sheean, n. 50.
 Visnu, 407.
 Vizierate (s), 179, 181.
 Volga, 257, 258.
 Volga Bulgars, 251; court of, 243; King of, 247.
 Volga-Caspian regions, 247.
 Votconda (Volconda), 66, 71.
- WACE A. J. B., n. 36.**
 Wadi, al-, 281.
 Wadi al-'Aqīq, 79.
 Wahid, 'Abdul-, Aqbugha, Amir, 303.
 Waihand, 365, 366, 373, 374.
 Wala Jāh, Nawab, 414, 421.
 Wala Jāh, Nawab Muḥammad 'Ali of the Carnatic, n. 91.
 Wali, Ahmad Shāh, 265.
 Wali Ahd, Mirza, 283.

Walid, al-, ibn Yazid, 281.
 Waliullah, Shāh, nn. 380 and 384.
 Wandiwash, 69.
 Warfare, Arab art of, 1
 Warren Hastings, n. 91.
 Wasit, Qādi of, 256
 Wasite, Maimūn-ibn-i-Najib, n. 169.
 Watson, n. 75, Admiral, 76.
 Wazir, 35.
 Wazir Khwaja-i-Jahān, 29.
 Webber, A., 400
 Weter, 401
 Wellhausen, 388.
 Wells, H. G., 23.
 Wensinck, n. 152, n. 424
 West, 254, 433.
 Western Society, nature of, 385.
 Wiedemann, E., nn. 144 and 148, 245
 Wiet, nn. 302 and 303
 Wilks, nn. 94 and 420
 Wujjain (see Ujjain)

YAHYA AL-MAKKI, 273
 Yahya b. Abi-Kuthair, 156
 Yahya bin Khalid, 399.
 Yamāma, 257.
 Yamin, ibn-i-, 150.
 Yaqūb al-Kindī, 399.
 Yaqūb al-Mustamsik-billah, 38
 Yaqūbī (Ahmad b. Abi-Ya'qūb b. Ja'far
 b. Wahab b. Wādeh al-'Abbāsī)
 246, n. 378, 383.
 Yāqūt, 179, nn. 181, 182 and 183, 188,
 246, 251, 273.
 Yāqūt Hamavī (ibn 'Abdullah ar-Rūmī),
 255, 256.
 Yashbak al-Jamālī, 301.
 Yazd, 130
 Yazdānī, Mr., 30, n. 31.
 Yazīd, 8, 119.

Yazid ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 280, 281.
 Yazid, ibn-, al-Walid, 281.
 Yeman, (al-), 257, 278; archæological
 aspects of, 249. Governor of, n.
 48.
 Yizdgird, 167.
 Yoga Vasishta, 398
 Youssouf Kamal, Prince, 263.
 Yule, 257.
 Yunini, nn. 37, 38 and 302
 Yūnus al-Kātib, 273, 276.
 Yusuf, al-'Aziz, al-Malik, 303.
 Yūsuf 'Alī, 'Abdulla, 23.
 Yūsuf Husain Khan, 35.
 Yūsuf Khan I'tisāmī, Mirza, 49.
 Yusuf, Muḥammad, Khan, n. 58.
 Yvon, Mr., 420, 421.

ZABULISTAN, 128.

Zahuhar, 365.
 Zaid ibn 'Amr al-Kalabī, 363, 364.
 Zaidī, al-, al-Murtada, n. 154.
 Zaigham-ud-daulah, Husam-ul-Mulk
 Khan Dauran Khan Sir Henry
 Sahib Bahadur, Salabat Jang,
 General, Commander-in-Chief of
 India, 287.
 Zainul Arab, 135, 136.
 Zakariyya al-Mu'tasim-billah, n. 38.
 Zakariya, al-Qazwini, 256.
 Zamakhshari, n. 153, 154.
 Zanzibar, 249.
 Zettersteen, n. 302.
 Ziryāb, 273.
 Zohri, az-, (see Zuhri), 254.
 Zubair, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395.
 Zubair, al-, ibn, 12.
 Zubdat-ul-Hukama, 286.
 Zuhri, az-, Muḥammad b. Abu-Bakr,
 253, 254.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. SAMĀ' AND RAQŞ OF THE DARWISHES	
—DR. SIRAJUL HAQ.	111
II. AL-MUHALLAB-B.-ABĪ ŞUFRA	
—DR. S. M. YUSUF.	131
III. THE DĪWĀN, AND THE QUATRAINS OF DĀRĀ SHIKOH	
—BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT, ESQR.	145
IV. MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASTRONOMICAL AND MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY	
—PROF. NAFIS AHMAD.	167
V. SALĀBAT KHĀN II	
—SH. CHAND HUSAIN, ESQR.	187
VI. AN ANONYMOUS ENGLISH-ARABIC FRAGMENT ON MUSIC	
—DR. H. G. FARMER.	201
VII. ON THE MARGIN :	
THE ORIGINAL COMPILER OF AL-MUFADDALIYYĀT	
—DR. S. M. YUSUF.	206
VIII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	209
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
IX. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	227

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SAMĀ' AND RAQṢ OF THE DARWISHES

SYNOPSIS

[SAMĀ' and Raqṣ were two important topics in the list of the innovations to the eradication of which Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn-Taimiyya directed their attention. According to the latter, Samā' may be divided into three classes : the lawful, the unlawful, and the permissible. The lawful Samā' may, again, be classified as follows : Samā' an-Nabiyyin, Samā' al-Mu'minin, and Samā' Ahl-al-Ma'rifa. The unlawful Samā' is the music of the Darwishes, including Mukā' and Taṣḍiya, whistling and clapping. Traditions in favour of the music and dance of the Darwishes narrated by al-Maqdisi and Suhrawardī are unauthentic. Women may beat Duff at marriages and on other happy occasions. Men singing with Duff were known as Mukhannithūn. A tradition regarding the permissibility of listening to songs narrated by 'Ā'isha. Some Sūfīs of later generations never attended Samā'. Samā' actually originated at Baghdād by the last part of the second century A.H. in the hands of the Zindīqs, irreligious persons. The leaders of the four schools of thought and the renowned Sūfīs were against Samā'. Junaid's abandonment of Samā' and his remark about listening to it. A saying of the Prophet about the Ḥudā song. Is Samā', without the accompaniment of musical instruments, permissible? Did Mālik permit his countrymen to sing? Three fundamental principles to decide whether Samā' is lawful in Islām. Evil influences of Samā'. Arguments in favour of Samā' and their refutation. Raqṣ. Ibn-Taimiyya's reply to a Fatwā regarding Raqṣ. Conclusion].

SAMĀ' and Raqṣ (music and dance of the Darwishes) had already begun to play an important role as an aid to the devotional aspect of Islamic ritual by the time when renowned scholars and reformers like Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200)¹ and Ibn-Taimiyya (d. 728/1238)² engaged themselves in refuting the innovations in Islām. The great theologian al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) who, scientifically analysed the emotional side of the human mind, encouraged the music and dance of the Darwishes within limits, and proved their legality by the help of the Qur'ān and the Sunna.³ But the above two scholars, and also those who followed their

1. Jamāl ad-Dīn Abū'l-Faraj 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Alī, known as Ibn al-Jawzī, b. 510/1116. He left a vast number of books. One of his famous books, namely *Talāḥīs-Iblīs*, has partly been translated into English by Margoliouth in *Islamic Culture*, 1935-37. See *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. Ibn al-Djawzī.

2. B. 661/1263. For biographical references to Ibn-Taimiyya, see *Islamic Culture*, January, 1943. footnote 1 on p. 77.

3. See al-Ghazzālī, the Chapter on *Ādāb as-Samā' wa'r-Raqṣ in Iḥyā'*, II, 236-69, Cairo, 1348. It has been translated into English with commentary by D. B. Macdonald in *J. R. A. S.*, 1901-2.

views, disapproved of the practice of music and dance of the Darwishes, and occasionally wrote books and issued pamphlets against the practice.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to present a critical exposition of the views of Ibn-Taimiyya and Ibn al-Jawzī and others of their school of thought on the music and dance of the Darwishes, as found in the treatise, *Risāla fī's-Samā' wa'r-Raqṣ*,¹ collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Munbiji al-Ḥanbali.²

The treatise begins with a Fatwā given by Ibn-Taimiyya. "What is the description of Samā' in the estimation of the pious people? Is listening to poems sung to musical instruments a means of nearness to God? Is it a thing unlawful or permissible in Islam?" These were the questions that were once put to Ibn-Taimiyya, in answer to which he says in his usual homiletic manner that Samā' of the pious people means listening to the verses of the Holy Qur'ān only.

On analysing the discourse which he delivered in this connection, we understand that, according to him, Samā' may be classified into three broad divisions: the lawful Samā', the unlawful Samā', and the permissible Samā'.

THE LAWFUL SAMĀ'

THIS kind of Samā', which was sanctioned by God, and for which the Ṣaḥāba, (Companions), the Tabi'ūn, (Followers of the Companions), and the Tabā'at Tabi'ūn, (Followers of the Followers,) used to assemble together for the purification of their hearts, meant the practice of listening to the verses of the Qur'ān. This practice was both approved and acted upon by the Prophets, the faithful, the learned ('Ulemā), and the knowers of truth ('Ārifūn). In favour of the Samā' of the Prophets, he cites the verse of the Qur'ān: "These are they among the Prophets of the posterity of Adam, and among those whom we bare with Noah, and among the posterity of Abraham and Israel, and among those whom we have guided and chosen, to whom God hath shewed favour. When the verses of the Beneficent were rehearsed to them, they bowed them down worshipping and weeping."³ About the Samā' of the Faithful, he quotes another verse: "Believers are they only whose hearts thrill with fear when God is named, and whose faith increases at each recital of His signs, and put their trust in their Lord."⁴ In support of the Samā' of the learned Ibn-Taimiyya cites the verse: "They verily, to whom knowledge had been given previously, fall on their faces worshipping when it is recited to them."⁵ Then in favour

1. See M. R. K., (*Majmū'at- ar-Rasā'il al-Kubra* by Ibn-Taimiyya, Cairo, 1323 A.H.) Vol. II, 277-315. A mere perusal of the treatise will show that Ibn-Taimiyya was not its author. Al-Munbiji compiled it from the views of different scholars of his school of thought on music and dance.

2. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II, 76.

3. Sūra XIX, 59.

4. Sūra VIII, 2.

5. Sūra XVII, 108 sq.

of Samā' of the 'Ārifūn, he quotes: "And when they hear that which hath been sent to the Apostle, thou seest their eyes overflow with tears at the truth they recognise therein."¹ So it was these kinds of Samā', he adds, that God ordered the people to listen to. God says: "When the Qur'ān is recited, then listen to it and remain silent that mercy may be shown to you."² Moreover, God praises those who listen to this sort of Samā'. He says: "Cheer then with good tidings those my servants who hearken to my words and follow the best of it."³ "Will they not then meditate on the Qur'ān? Are locks upon their hearts?"⁴ Here meditation means Samā', for no one can meditate upon a thing without listening to it. Further, there are several other verses which censure those who do not listen to this kind of Samā'. "Then what hath come to them that they turn aside from the admonishment, as if they were affrighted asses fleeing from a lion?"⁵ "When thou recitest the Qur'ān, we place between thee and those who believe not in the life to come a dark veil; and we put coverings over their hearts lest they should understand it, and in their ears a heaviness; and when in the Qur'ān thou namest thy one Lord, they turn their backs in flight."⁶ So in the opinion of Ibn-Taimiyya this was the Samā' that was sanctioned by God in prayers⁷ and admonitions. Moreover, this had been the practice of the Prophet and his Companions. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his followers used to assemble with him in order to listen to his recitations from the Qur'ān, and after he died they held similar gatherings in order to listen to each other's recitation. Both Bukhārī and Muslim narrate, on the authority of 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd, that once the Prophet asked 'Abd-Allāh to recite the Qur'ān to him, whereupon he replied, "Shall I recite it to you when it has been revealed to you?" "Certainly, I should like to hear it from others," was the reply. So 'Abd-Allāh began to recite to the Prophet the chapter of *an-Nisā'* but when he reached the verse: "How, when we shall bring up against them witnesses from all peoples, and when we shall bring thee up as a witness against these?"⁸ the Prophet uttered, "Good, it is enough," while tears rolled down his cheeks.⁹ In the opinion of Ibn-Taimiyya this sort of Samā' is *Aṣl al-Īmān*, (fundamental faith), because God delegated to the Prophet a mission to the people, who, if they listen to it, will find salvation, and if they turn away from it will be misguided and rendered unfortunate. The Qur'ān bears testimony to this. God says: "Hereafter shall guidance come unto you from me; and whoso followeth my guidance

1. Sūra V, 86.

2. Sūra VII, 203

3. Sūra XXXIX, 59

4. Sūra XLVII, 26.

5. Sūra LXXIV, 51 sq.

6. Sūra XVII, 47 sq.

7. Such as in *Fajr*, *Maghrib* and *'Ishā*.

8. Sūra IV, 45

9. Bukhārī, *Kit. Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, b. 32; Muslim, *Kit. Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, p. 56.

shall not err, and shall not be wretched; but whoso turneth away from my admonition, his truly shall be a life of misery; and we will assemble him with others, on the day of Resurrection, blind."¹

THE UNLAWFUL SAMĀ'

Now Samā' meaning music of the Darwishes including Mukā' and Taṣḍiyā (whistling and clapping) comes under this head. To Ibn-Taimiyya all these are the Samā' of the heathens and are not permitted to Muslims. The Tradition in favour of the Samā' of the Darwishes, narrated by al-Maqdisī (d. 507/1113)² and Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) is false. They narrate that once a bedouin recited two lines³ of a poem in the presence of the Prophet, who was so charmed with it that his cloak dropped down from his shoulders on account of ecstasy, whereupon Mu'āwiya said, ما حسن لهوكم "How excellent is your entertainment!" "O Mu'āwiya," replied the Prophet, "he who does not show love at the remembrance of his beloved is not a noble man." Another Tradition that reveals the same kind of falsehood, is related by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī.⁴ Once when the poor were told the good news that they would enter heaven before the rich, they became mad with ecstasy and tore their clothes to pieces. Gabriel came down at once and said: يا محمد ان ربك يطلب نصيبه من هذه الخروق, "O Muḥammad, your Lord wants His share of these torn pieces." He then took a rag from those torn pieces and suspended it from the throne of God.⁵

The Prophet of Islam never allowed his disciples to assemble in order to listen to songs accompanied by claps or beatings of the Qaḍīb, (wand)⁶ or Duff (tambourine).⁷ Nevertheless, he allowed women to beat the Duff

1. Sūra XX, 123 seq

2. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif (on the margin of al-Ghazzālī's Iḥyā', Cairo, 1348 A.H.) Vol. II, 253-55.

3. The lines are:

فلا طيب لها ولا راق قد لمت حبة الهوى كبدي
عده رفيق و تراقي الا الحبيب الذي شغفت به

"The viper of love stung my liver (heart) and no physician nor charmer can cure it, except the beloved with whom I am deeply in love." For with him is my charm and theriac." 'Awārif, II, 254. M R K, II, 282.

4. He is also known as Ibn al-Kaisarānī. See *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. Ibn al-Kaisarānī.

5. M R K, II, 282. Cf. 'Awārif I.c., II, 255. There cannot be any allegation against Suhrawardī that he accepted such an absurd Tradition as correct. It will be seen from the 'Awārif, quoted above, that though Suhrawardī narrates both these Traditions through al-Maqdisī, he frankly admits that these reports are unauthentic.

6. Qaḍīb or wand is a primitive instrument for determining the measure. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 16 and 74.

7. Duff, tambourine. See Salvador Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arabs*, p. 221 sq.

on happy occasions like marriages, etc. They were further allowed to clap during prayers in order to warn the Imām when he committed mistakes.¹ So beating the Duff and clapping of hands were permitted to women, but whenever a male attempted to sing with the Duff etc., he was scornfully given the title of Mukhannath, effeminate, and the male musicians were known as Makhānith.²

The Prophet and the early Muslims never attended any musical performance. Nowhere in the Hijāz, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Khurāsān, and Spain was there any one among these people who ever encouraged it.³

Ibn-Taimiyya, however, quotes the Tradition narrated by 'Ā'isha that on the occasion of an 'Id festival her father (Abū-Bakr) came to see her. He found her listening to the song of two Anṣārī girls who were singing to her the events of Yaum al-Bu'āth.⁴ He did not like it and said to 'Ā'isha : *أبزمورالسيطان في بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم* "Art thou with the flute of Satan in the house of the Prophet of God.?" The Prophet, who had his face turned to the wall of the house, uttered : *دعها يا أبابكر فان لكل قوم* "Let them sing, O Abū-Bakr, for every community has a festival and this is our Muslim festival."⁵

1. Women are forbidden to utter *Subhān Allāh*, *Allāh Akbar*, etc. like men as it may inspire sex-instinct in the hearts of men on account of their tender voices. But the clapping that has been recommended must not be done by the palms of the two hands. It is to be done by the palm of the right hand on the back of the left. If a woman does it with the two palms, by way of sports, her prayer will be null and void. For the *Hadīth* see Bukhārī, *Kit. al-Ṣalāt*, b. 22, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Co. No. 33*.

2. *M R K*, II, 284. Farmer quotes this story in his *History of Arabian Music*, p. 45 sq. He says, "The first male professional musician in al-Hijāz belonged to a class known as Mukhannathūn, (sing Mukhannath) who were evidently unknown in pagan times. These people were an effeminate class who dyed their hands and affected the habits of women. The first male professional musician in the days of Islam is generally acknowledged to have been Tuwais, the Mukhannath, and, indeed, it is said that in al-Madīna music had its origin among the Mukhannathūn," But Farmer adds, "This is probably a canard of the legists."

3. *M R M*, II, 282, *M R M (Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il wa'l-Masā'il)* by Ibn-Taimiyya, ed. by Muhammad Rashīd Ridā in 5 Vols., Cairo, 1341-49 A.H.) Vol. I, 38

4. The Day of Bu'āth is famous for the battle between two tribes, Aws and Khazraj, in the pre-Islamic age. Bu'āth was a place two miles away from Madīna or a place in the district of Banī-Quraiza. *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. Bu'āth. Aghānī, XV, 163, 164; XIV, 95. *Mu'jamal-Buldān*, I, 670.

5. *M R K*, II, 285. Nasā'ī narrates this *Hadīth* (*Kit. al-'Idain*) and tells us that the two girls were singing with the Duff, tambourine. Bukhārī, (*Kit. al-'Idain*, b. 2 and *Kit. al-Manād*, b. 14) and Muslim (*Kit. al-'Idain*, faṣl 4) report that, at the time when 'Ā'isha was listening to the songs of the two girls, the Prophet entered the house and lay down on his bed, turning his face away. There is no mention of his being displeased with them. Ibn al-Jawzī quotes this Tradition in his *Talbīs Iblīs*, (p. 224 sq., Cairo, 1938, and comments that the two girls were minors and that they used to play in company with 'Ā'isha. He further informs us that once Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal was asked about the song that was sung by these two Anṣārī girls and he replied that it was a caravan song, Ghinā ar-Rakb) *غينة الركب* etc.

Ibn-Taimiyya's explanation of this Hadith is that to listen to a song was not the habit of the Prophet or his disciples, and this is why Abū-Bakr called it Mazmūr ash-Shaitān, (flute of the devil), but that a man commits no sin if he hears a song accidentally. Similarly, a man does not commit sin in applying his other senses, such as seeing, smelling, tasting, and touching of unlawful things, as long as it is not done intentionally. This is corroborated by the action of the Prophet once when he was going somewhere with Ibn-'Umar. They heard the sound of the flute of a shepherd, and the Prophet hurried away towards another direction saying, "Do you listen to it O, Ibn-'Umar?" But he did not ask Ibn-'Umar to shut his ears so that one could conjecture that the hearing too was unlawful. It is listening (to the flute) that was forbidden and not an incidental hearing.¹

Of the Ṣūfīs of later generations, says Ibn-Taimiyya, some were of opinion that Samā' (of the Darwishes) was permitted in Islam for a special class of people, nay for them it was even better than listening to the Qur'ān in many respects—it was nourishment for the heart, a kind of food for the soul, and a sort of guide to spiritual elevation. In consequence of this, it so happened that these people neglected the Qur'ān and preferred Samā' to it, but as a matter of fact, there was no trace of Samā' during the first three generations (al-Qurūn ath-Thalātha) of the early Muslims. It had only originated by the last part of the second century A.H. Imām Shāfi'ī is of opinion that the Zindīqs, irreligious persons,² first invented Taghbīr, (reading of poems with harmony) at Baghdad to distract the people from the Qur'ān.³ Among the Zindīqs Ibn-Rāwandī,⁴ al-Fārābī,⁵ Ibn-Sīna,⁶ and others practised Samā' and spread the custom of listening to it. Abū-'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī⁷ reports that Ibn ar-Rāwandī⁸ considered Samā' to be Wājib, obligatory. Al-Fārābī himself was a renowned musician. His treatment of Ibn-Hamadān (Saif ad-Dawla)⁹ whom he made weep, laugh, and then sleep by means of his music, is known to people.¹⁰

1. M R K, II, 285.

2. See Huart, *Les Zindīqs en droit Musulman*, 11th Congress of Orientalists, Part III, pp. 69 ff; see also *Enc. of Isl.*, Vol. IV, p. 1228 sq.

3. M R K, II, 287; cf. Suhrawardī, 'Awārif, I.c. Vol. II, 213.

4. Abū'l-Husain Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Ishāq d. 245/859. *Wafayāt al-A'yān* by Ibn-Khalikān, Cairo, 1299 A.H., Vol. I, 27.

5. Abū Naṣr Muhammad b. Uzalagh b. Tarkhān, the greatest philosopher of Islam before Avicenna, d. 339/950. Some of his treatises have been published in Hyderabad, Deccan. See *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. al-Fārābī.

6. Abū-'Alī al-Husain b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Sīna, b. 4370/980 in Isfahān d. 420/1029. *Wafayāt*, I, 152. *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. Ibn-Sīna.

7. Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, III, 233 sq.

8. Ibn ar-Rāwandī or Rewandī, Abū'l-Husain b. Yahyā b. Ishāq al-Mu'tazalī and heretic, born at the beginning of the 3rd century A.H., *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. (Supplement).

9. Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Hamdān, ruler of Aleppo, b. 303/915 d. 356/1063. *Wafayāt*, I, 364 Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.*, pp. 269 seq. and 303-7.

10. M R K, II, 286-88.

Ibn-Taimiyya now strengthens his position by quoting the opinions of the jurists and Ṣūfī Shaikhs. Abū-Ḥanīfa, Mālik, Thawrī, etc. disapproved of Samā' more strongly than did Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad.¹ Imām Aḥmad and sages like Ibrāhīm b. Adham,² Fuḍail b. 'Iyād,³ Ma'rūf al-Karkhī,⁴ Abū Sulaimān ad-Dārānī⁵ and Sarī' as-Saqāṭī⁶ did not attend Samā'. Those who attended Samā' and spread the custom of listening to it were all originally men suspected of Zandaqa, irreligiousness,⁷ about whom we have seen the opinion of Imām Shāfi'ī. Two other great saints, namely Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir and Shaikh 'Adī, after whom the Qādirī and the 'Adawiyya orders were established respectively, did not attend Samā'.⁸ Junaid Baghdādī who used to attend Samā' in his early years abandoned it in his old age.⁹ Again, the Ṣūfis who attended it, did so under certain conditions and restrictions. Junaid used to say: *من بكلف السماع وثق به و من صادف السماع*: "He who uses Samā' as an artificial aid, is liable to fall into sin, but he who meets it accidentally finds relief in it."¹⁰

PERMISSIBLE SAMĀ'

REGARDING the third kind of Samā' both Ibn-Taimiyya and his predecessor Ibn al-Jawzī are of the same opinion.¹¹ They say that before passing judgment on the question of Samā' we must first look to Māhiyat ash-Shaiy, (the essence of a thing) and then call it Ḥarām, Makrūh, etc. The word Samā', they add, may bear several meanings, such as Ghinā'

1 M R K, II, 296

2 A famous Ṣūfī of Balkh, d. 161/777 *Fawāṭ*, I, 3 *Enc of Isl.* s.v. Ibrāhīm b. Adham

3 A Ṣūfī contemporary of Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd. He started his life as a member of a robber band, but then turned a perfect Ṣūfī after he had heard a man reciting the verse of the Qur'ān, *Sūra*, LVII, 15 —

"Hath not the time come, for those who believe, to humble their hearts at the warning of God and at the truth which He hath sent down? And that they be not as those to whom the Scriptures were given heretofore, whose lifetime was prolonged, but whose hearts were hardened, and many of them were perverse? He died in 187/802 *Wafayāt*, I, 415 *Enc of Isl.* s.v. al-Fuḍail b. 'Iyād

4 Abū-Mahfūz Ma'rūf b. Firūz, (d. 200/815 or 201/816, or 204/819) a Ṣūfī of Christian origin who accepted Islām at the hands of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridā. He was a teacher of Sarī' as-Saqāṭī *Wafayāt*, II/104 Nicholson, *Lit Hist*, pp. 385-86 and 388

5 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Atīyya al-Anasī, d. 225/839 *Wafayāt* I, 276. *Fawāṭ*, (*Fawāṭ al-Wafayāt* by Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, Būlāq, 1299 A.H.), I, 251

6 Abū'l-Hasan Sarī' b. al-Mughallīs as-Saqāṭī, maternal uncle of Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junaid, a student of al-Karkhī, d. 256/869 or 257/870 at Baghdād; *Wafayāt*, I, 200.

7 M R K, II, 287 sq

8 M R K, 296 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī b. Zangī Dost, a preacher and Ṣūfī. See *Fawāṭ*, II, 2. 'Adī b. Muṣāfir, d. 557/1162 or 555/1160.

9 M R K, II, 296

10 *Ibid.*

11 M R K, II, 293, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* (Cairo, 1928) p. 223. Here Ibn-Taimiyya quotes the view of Ibn al-Jawzī almost word for word.

al-Ḥajjī, music of the pilgrims describing Ka'ba, Zamzam, etc. to listen to which is Mubāḥ, permissible.

Similarly, the music of the soldiers and the song called Ḥudā, (sung by the camel-drivers to urge the fatigued camels to walk swiftly¹) come under the same category.² About the Ḥudā song, Anas reports that once while the Prophet was travelling on a camel with his wives, and his driver Anjasha³ was driving his camel swiftly by singing a Ḥudā song, he addressed Anjasha and said: "رويدك سوكا بالقوارير" "Drive gently with the glasses."⁴ On another occasion 'Abd-Allāh b. Rawāḥa recited a few lines in praise of the Prophet, who did not object to it.⁵

1 See Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 25, 29. About the origin of the Ḥudā song, Ibn al-Jawzī gives an interesting account in his *Talbis Iblis*, p. 223 (Cairo, 1928). On a certain night while the Prophet was on his way to Mecca, he informed a camel-driver, by the way, that once Mudar, the ancestor of the Arabs, went out to inquire of some of his shepherds, and found his camels scattered. Being angry with the shepherd he struck him on his wrist. The boy rushed out into the valley crying, *yā yadā, yā yadā* ("O my hand, O my hand"). The camels heard the voice and flocked together into him. Mudar thought within himself, "If such a sound be invented, the camels will be accustomed to it and remain in one place. Thus the Ḥudā song came into existence."

2 M R K, II, 293 sq. *Talbis*, (*Talbis Iblis*, by Ibn al-Jawzī, Cairo, 1928) p. 223 sq.

3. A Negro Companion of the Prophet. He possessed a sweet voice and used to recite poems while driving camels. *An-Nawāwī* on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (Nawal-kishore Press, Lucknow, 1343) Vol. II, 255.

4 M R K, II, 294. *An-Nawāwī* l.c. Vol. II, p. 255 *Iḥyā*, II, 242. This is a controversial Ḥadīth and a part of it has come to us in different wordings. In one narration it is "رويدك سوكا بالقوارير" "Drive slowly, you are driving with the glasses." In another narration it runs "ويلك يا أنجشة رويدك سوكا بالقوارير" "Woe to you, O Anjasha, drive slowly with the glasses." In a third narration it has been reported: "O Anjasha, do not break the glasses, meaning thereby the members of the weaker sex." Qawārīr means glasses. Here women have been compared to glasses, and the Muslim divines differed in their opinions in regard to this comparison. Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ and other authorities are of the opinion that the Prophet's driver, Anjasha, who used to recite songs with Tashbīḥ, etc., possessed a beautiful voice, and it was not safe for ladies whose hearts were tender like the glasses to listen to these songs, lest they might be wrongly influenced by them. It was for this reason that the Prophet ordered him to stop singing. In support of this view, the Qāḍī refers to the report of a *Tābi'ī* (Follower of the Companions of the Prophet) Abū Qilāba in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (*Nawāwī* l.c. Vol. II, 255) and asserts that this was actually the idea of the Prophet in comparing the ladies to the glasses, because in interpretation of the Ḥadīth, Abū-Qilāba said: "The Prophet uttered such a word (to Anjasha with regard to ladies) as, had it been uttered by one of you, you would have certainly censured him." (*Nawāwī* l.c.). Here we may say that Abū-Qilāba has gone too far in interpreting the words of the Prophet. The Prophet was the teacher of the whole community of the Muslims, and spoke mostly in general terms. He did not in any way suspect the conduct of the ladies on the Howda. Another interpretation put forward by the same Qāḍī is that the camels walk swiftly when they are driven by the recitation of songs so that the riders on the *Ḥawda* are swayed to and fro and get exhausted. This is why the Prophet asked Anjasha to drive slowly lest the tender ladies should slip down and receive injuries. (*Nawāwī* l.c.). Here the first explanation proves the unlawfulness and the second the lawfulness of *Samā'*. Imām Ghazzālī cites this Ḥadīth in his *Iḥyā'* l.c., (Vol. II, 242) as a proof of the Ibāḥat permissiveness of *Samā'*.

Now, a question may arise whether Samā' without the accompaniment of musical instruments should be considered as permissible. On this question Ibn-Taimiyya declares that the jurists differ in their views whether it should be considered as Ḥarām, Makrūh, or Mubāh. The followers of Imām Aḥmad, he adds, are of three different opinions, whereas there are two views from Imām Shāfi'ī. Ibn-Taimiyya further tells us that Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa and Imām Mālik do not disagree, and that one of the early Imāms, namely, Zakariyya b. Yaḥyā as-Sājī,¹ who was biassed towards Shāfi'ī, expressed that the early jurists were unanimous in its being Ḥarām, forbidden, except Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd of Madīna and 'Ubaid-Allāh b. al-Ḥasan of Baṣra. The report made by Abū-'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī and Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī that such a kind of music was lawful to Imām Mālik and the Madinites is, according to Ibn-Taimiyya, false. The real point, he suggests, is that some of the Madinites attended such a sort of Samā', but their Imāms or jurists never encouraged it.² Ibn-Taimiyya himself maintains that when Samā' has become a controversial problem about which we cannot definitely say if it is lawful or unlawful, or whether it is a Ṭā'at, (obedience to God) or Qurbat-ila-Allāh, (means of nearness to Him), we have to take recourse to some Dalil Shar'ī, (religious document), for there is nothing forbidden but what God has forbidden and there is no true religion but what has been prescribed by Him. And since there is nothing in the Qur'ān or in the Sunna that warrants the legality of this sort of Samā', it should be regarded as an innovation, pure and simple, and as such it should be discarded.³

Ibn-Taimiyya then lays down three fundamental principles to decide whether Samā' (in general, inclusive of music) is lawful or unlawful.⁴

Firstly, the ecstasy of a Ṣūfī must not be accepted as a proof to validate Samā' as the Ṣūfīs would have us believe. It is only the Qur'ān and the Sunna that are the real authorities to decide as to the validity or otherwise of Samā'.

1. d. 307/919 See Ibn-Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, II, 488.

2. M R K, II, 294

3. M R K, II, 289, sq. In support of this view, he quotes the verse of the Holy Qur'ān, (Sūra XLII, 20). "Or have they associates who have prescribed for them any religion that Allāh does not sanction?", and also the verse (Sūra VII, 27), "And when they commit indecency they say, 'We found our fathers doing this, and Allāh has enjoined it on us.'" Ibn-Taimiyya further adds that God has declared in the Qur'ān, (Sūra V, 5). "This day have I perfected your religion, and have filled up the measure of my favours upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islām be your religion." Again, (Sūra VI, 154); "And this is my right way, follow it then; and follow not other paths lest ye be scattered from His path." Moreover, 'Abd-Allāh b. Mas'ūd reports that once Prophet drew a straight line, on the right and left of which he drew other lines and said, "This is the path of Allāh, and these (on the right and left) are the paths on every one of which there is a Satan who called men towards it." Then the Prophet repeated the verse: "And this is my right way." So, had Samā' been of any importance in Islām, then God or His Apostle would certainly have mentioned it before the announcement: **اليوم اكملت لكم دينكم** "To-day have I perfected the religion for you." Sūra V, 5.

4. M R K, II, 292 sq.

Secondly, when there is a dispute with respect to the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a thing, one must consult the Qur'ān and the Sunna, and this Samā', which is a controversial thing, and is not also found in either of them, should be discarded and considered illegal.

Thirdly, when it becomes difficult for a Nāẓir or a Sālik (observer or pious devotee) to decide whether something is allowed or forbidden, he must watch its result—if it leads people to grave corruptions, the Shāri', law-maker, cannot then be expected to sanction it, especially when it leads one to the anger of God and His Apostle *بغض الله ورسوله*. So how can one imagine the Divine decision, that considers the slightest intoxication to be Ḥarām, unlawful, lest it should excite the mind to a greater intoxication, to have made music Mubāḥ, permissible—music that excites one's mind more than intoxication does towards committing sin? Ibn-Mas'ūd is related to have said : *الغناء هو رقية الزنا* "Music is a spell for adultery." Ibn-Taimiyya is also of opinion that whenever a boy practised Ghinā', (music) it spoiled him, whenever a woman took to it, she committed adultery, and whenever a young man or an old man practised it, he plunged himself into foul deeds.¹

In connection with this evil influence of Samā', Ibn al-Jawzī remarks that music goads one to corrupt tendencies. One leads astray the heart from the divine thoughts and the other makes a man inclined towards worldly pleasures. The latter incites him to attain mundane pleasures in full, the greatest of which is the pleasures of the flesh. But when this cannot be attained completely except in 'fresh woods and pastures new' which have to be reached through unlawful means, he is forced to commit adultery. Evidently Ghinā', (music) and Zinā, (adultery) resemble each other. Ghinā' pleases the soul and Zinā gratifies one's passion most.² Imām Ibn-Taimiyya is almost of the same opinion. He says that music contains the description of love, union, separation, forsaking, yearning, etc., all of which may allude to God, devils, friends, women, etc. Therefore a man when he sits down intentionally to listen to music is apt to be misguided.³

Now, al-Munbijī,⁴ one of the exponents of the Ḥanbalite thoughts, enumerates a few arguments in favour of music, and himself repudiates them with his own arguments as also with those of Ibn-Taimiyya and others:⁵

i. Music is sweet and pleasing. By it souls are delighted and appeased. By its sweet sound babies are lulled to sleep, and sometimes

1. M R K, II, 293.

2. M R K, II, 295. See also *Talbīs* l.c., p. 222.

3. M R K, II, 296.

4. The compiler of the *Risāla as-Samā' wa'r-Raqṣ* which we are discussing here.

5. M R K, II, 298-312.

they are not likely to go to bed without it. It makes the camels endure the troubles of a journey and bear the burden of loads.¹

ii. Sweet tone is God's blessing, and it is an additional faculty endowed to his creatures, (*Ziyādatun-fi-Khalqih*). God says in the Qur'ān: "He addeth to His creature what He wills."² God dislikes the braying of asses as He says: "..... and lower thy voice: for the least pleasing of voices is surely the voice of asses."³

iii. God speaks about the people of Heaven that "..... they shall enjoy themselves in a flowery mead,"⁴ by listening to good music. So how can it be unlawful in this world when it is lawful in the world hereafter?

iv. It has been asserted that God did not listen to anything (so earnestly) as He listened to the Samā' of a Prophet when he recited the scripture with a sweet tone.⁵

v. The Prophet listened to the sweet voice of Abū-Mūsa al-Ash'arī⁶ and praised him for it, saying, "Surely this man has been given a flute of the flutes of David."⁷ "If I could have known," replied Abū-Mūsa, addressing the Prophet, "that you would listen to me, I would certainly have recited it more beautifully."⁸

vi. The Prophet said, "Adorn the Qur'ān with your sweet voice. He is not of us who does not recite the Qur'ān with a clear voice."⁹

vii. The Prophet allowed his wife 'Ā'isha to listen to the song of two songstresses on an 'Id festival.¹⁰

1. Al-Ghazzālī says in his *Ihyā*, (I, 242 sq.) that there is harmony between sounds and rhythmical sounds; the sounds affect the souls immensely—some sounds are pleasing, some are displeasing, some excite laughter, some produce a thrill of sensation in the mind, and some actuate the limbs of the body to move according to their rhythms. But these movements are not produced as a result of the understanding of the meaning of the poems, rather they are present in the very chords of musical instruments. It is said, "He who is not moved by the spring and its blossoms and by Ūd, (lute) and its chords, is a man of incurably wrong temperament." For similar sayings and proverbs, both for and against music, see *Rawḍ al-Akhyār*, pp. 172-79 (Cairo, 1307) by Shaikh Muḥammad b. Qāsim.

2. Sūra, XXXV, 1.

3. Sūra, XXXI, 18.

4. Sūra XXX, 14.

5. Bukhārī, Kit. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 19. Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 2. By Taghanni bi'l-Qur'ān Bukhārī means either Jihṛ bi'l-Qur'ān, recitation of the Qur'ān with distinct voice or Istighnā' bi'l-Qur'ān, satisfaction after reading the Qur'ān, and not the recitation of the Qur'ān with sweet voice. Of course Bukhārī quotes the Ḥadīth in which the Prophet praised Abū-Mūsa for his lucid voice, but this does not mean that he has permitted his followers to sing the Qur'ān with rhythms.

6. Abū-Mūsa 'Abd-Allāh b. Qais, a Yemenian convert to Islām, was the governor of Basra. He died probably in 42/662. See Ibn-Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 178, sq., VI, 9. *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. al-Ash'arī.

7. Bukhārī, Kit. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, bāb 31. Muslim, (*Nawāwī*), Vol. I, 268.

8. *M R K*, II, 299/9.

9. *Nasā'ī*, bāb 96.

10. Muslim (Kit. *al-Idāin*, Faṣṭ 4) clearly states that the two girls were not songstresses, and that 'Ā'isha and the two girls were immature. Cf. al-Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, II, 245.

viii. The Prophet permitted his disciples to sing in wedding celebrations, and named it Lahw, entertainment.

ix. The Prophet listened to the Ḥudā song, and he approved of it.

x. The Prophet used to listen to the recitations of his disciples, and on the day of Khandaq, (Battle of the Trench), they recited a verse in front of him.¹ When the Prophet entered Mecca, a man recited to him a poem, composed by 'Abd-Allāh b. Rawāḥa,² and while returning from Khaibar his camel driver recited the same poem, and the Prophet was pleased with it.³

xi. The Prophet listened with approval to the poem, *Bānat Su'ād*,⁴ of Ka'b b. Zuhair.

xii. The Prophet asked Aswad b. Surai' to recite to him the poems in which he praised God. He (Aswad) was, moreover, asked to recite to him a hundred verses from the poem of Umayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt.⁵ The Prophet is also said to have listened to the poem of 'Ā'ishā.

xiii. The Prophet acclaimed Labīd as trustworthy on listening to one of his verses.⁶ He also appreciated the poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit and prayed to God to assist him with Ruḥ al-Qudus, Gabriel. Once 'Ā'ishā recited a beautiful verse⁷ of Abū-Kabīr al-Hudhālī⁸ to the Prophet, and said, "You are the most worthy of this verse." The Prophet was pleased with her words.

xiv. The Prophet permitted 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd-Allāh b. Ja'far and also the people of Madina to listen to Samā'. Moreover, some particular saints attended Samā' and listened to it. Therefore, anybody who considers Samā' as Ḥarām, (forbidden) surely speaks ill of those sages.

xv. The general consensus of the 'Ulemā approved of listening to the songs of birds, so to listen to the sweet sounds of human beings would preferably or equally be permissible. Samā' is the means of attraction of the mind and the thought to the beloved. If the beloved be an unlawful one, Samā' would be declared unlawful, but in case the beloved

1. M R K, II, 300. The verse is:

نحن الذين بايعوا محمدا على الجهاد ما قبلنا ايدا

2. A Khazrajite belonging to Banū-Ḥārith, and one of the most trustworthy Companions of the Prophet. *Enc. of Isl.*, s.v. 'Abd-Allāh b. Rawāḥa; *Agāḥnī*, XV, 29

3. M R K, II, 300

4. It has been translated by M. Hidāyat Ḥusain in *Islamic Culture*, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 67-84.

5. An Arab poet of the tribe of Thaḳīf who lived in Ṭā'if. His mother was Ruḳayya bint 'Abd ash-Shams b. 'Abd-Manāf. He died in 8 or 9 A.H. *Enc. of Islām*, s.v. Umayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt

6. M R K, II, 300. The verse is:

الا كل شئ ما حلاقه باطل وكل بعيم لا محالة زائل

7. The verse is

واذا نظرت الى امرة وجهه رقت كبريتا عارض المتهلل

8. Al-Hudhālī's *Diwān* has been published by Bajnakhtarani, *Journal Asiaticq*, Vol. 211 (1927), pp. 1-93, also in Vol 623 (1923) pp. 59-115. M R K, II, 300 read Abū-Kabīr in place of Abū-Kathīr.

be God, Samā' should be treated as Qurbat, means of nearness to Him. Again, the delight of the ear in a good voice is like the delight of the eyes with beautiful scenery, of the nose with a good smell, and of the tongue with a good taste. Now, if Samā', which is a source of delight to the ear, be treated as unlawful, then all the aforesaid pleasures must be considered as unlawful.

Under the above circumstances Sarqā' should be considered as lawful in Islam.

In refutation of the above arguments al-Munbiji says that the view of Ibn-Taimiyya and others that have already been expressed are sufficient to disprove them. As for the first argument, it is no argument at all. "For, a thing by reason of its being relishable to senses does not prove its Ibāhat, Tahrim, Karāhat, or Istihbāb, because such pleasures are due to the functional activities of the five organs. How can one who knows the rules of inference and occasions thereof deduce from these arguments that Samā' is Mubāh? He who thinks so is like the man who proves the Ibāhat of Zinā on account of the undeniable pleasure derived by the person who commits it. No one can infer that all agreeable pleasures are lawful, or that all forbidden things are void of pleasure.¹

The sound of Ma'āzif² cannot be deemed lawful though it is sweet to the ear, for the Prophet forbade it. No doubt, a camel or a baby finds pleasure in music, but that cannot be the reason why music should be lawful to the followers of Islam.³

If on the strength of the second argument it is held that a good voice is a blessing of God upon mankind and can be enjoyed by all and sundry without any restriction, it may then be argued that beautiful appearance is also a blessing and as such can be enjoyed indiscriminately. But, as a matter of fact, the Sharī'a has not been and can never be a party to its unrestricted sanction. True, 'the braying of asses is the most disagreeable sound,' but that does not imply that all sweet sounds must be lawful.⁴

The third argument is a curious one, because it makes a thing lawful in this world by virtue of its being lawful in the next world. But the fact remains that the Sharī'a does not permit the taking of wine or the use of silver, gold, or silk on the ground that the dwellers of Paradise will be using them there. If it is argued that there are definite injunctions of the Sharī'a regarding the prohibition of wine, silk, etc. here, whereas there is no such prohibition against Samā' so as to make it unlawful, the reply would be that this very argument again goes to prove the permissibility of music by reason of its Ibāhat in Heaven—a nargument in a circle, and as such untenable.⁵

1 M R K, II, 301

2. Sing Mi'zafa, a musical instrument giving open notes like a harp, psaltery, or barbiton. See Farmer, *A Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 7.

3. M R K, II, 301 sq

4. M R K, II, 302.

5. *Ibid.*

As to the remaining arguments, al-Munbiji is of opinion that if music in general be compared to the lawful Samā', namely Samā' al-Qaṣā'id, listening to odes in praise of God, His Apostle, or His Book, or in censure of the enemies of the Prophet, and if it be said that the Prophet, his disciples, and other Muslims listened to it, the answer would be that this sort of argument has been the cause of people's misconception of the real significance of the Samā' which is allowed in Islam. For they consider their poems, which are full of immodest descriptions, to be just like the pure and innocent poems of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Zuhair, Aswad b. Surai', etc., but as a matter of fact the Prophet never listened to any poems that contained obscene ideas and uncouth suggestions. Similar is the case when the opponents infer that music is lawful on the ground that the Prophet liked a good voice and encouraged people to recite the Qur'ān with a lucid voice. The recitation of the Qur'ān with good tone is, no doubt, right, (Imām Ahmad and Ibn-Qaiyyim al-Jawziyyah¹ too hold the same view) but that does not follow that it is lawful to sing the Qur'ān² or to listen to music. These people practically liken the Samā' (listening to) of the Qur'ān to the music of the singing-girls and boys with the accompaniment of Dufūf, tambourines, Ṣunūj, castanets, Shabābāt, flutes, Awtār, stringed instruments, etc., describing al-Qidūd, the stature of the beloved, ath-Thughūr, her front teeth, an-Nuhūr, her breasts, al-Khuṣūr, her waist, and so on. Such music describes Waṣl, union, Firāq, separation, and so forth, all of which are more injurious than the intoxication of wine. The intoxication caused by wine remains a day or so, but the intoxication of love produced by music adheres with a man up to his death.³ As for the strongest argument of the opponents that 'Ā'isha listened to music, and that the Prophet did not prohibit her from listening to it we may answer that it is a weak argument, for did not Abū-Bakr call it Mazmūr ash-Shaitān, flute of the devil? The Prophet did allow it to 'Ā'isha because she was then a minor, and the other two girls were also immature, and the song they were singing related to the battle of Bu'āth. Hence there was no apprehension of corruption on any side. Therefore, this instance cannot prove the Ibāhat, permissibility, of other evil songs. Of course, the Prophet never disapproved of good poetry. He listened to it and encouraged it. Similarly, there is a gulf of difference between the sweet voice of birds and that of women with musical instruments.⁴

1 M R K, II, 299 About Ibn-Qaiyyim al-Jawziyya see Schreiner, ZDMG, 53, 59 ff., Brockelmann, Geschichte, II, 105 sq His real name was Shams-ad-Din Abū-'Abd-Allāh Muhammad b Abi-Bakr He was a true pupil of Ibn-Taimiyya Like his teacher he combated the philosophers, the Christians, and the Jews He was born in 691/1292 and died on 13th Rajab 751/17th Sept 1350

2 See also Dārimī, Sunan, p 320 (On the margin of al-Muntaqā, Delhi, 1337 bāb, Karahīyyat al-Ilhān fi'l-Qur'ān

3 M R K, II, 303

4 Ibid., II, 303-4

The argument advanced in favour of music that he who disapproves of Samā' disapproves of such and such a saint, is absurd, because we should not accept a thing as permissible, in spite of its evil effects, simply on the ground that it has been adopted by some renowned sages. For example, in the battle of Šiffin sages were being killed on both sides, and when they were being carried to their respective parties, people of each party used to say, "The people of the Heaven have entered Heaven" صار أهل الجنة إلى الجنة. If a sage is alleged to have committed a thing which is Makrūh, reprobated, or Maḥzūr, forbidden, by showing disobedience to God or by explaining away the text, that cannot be a reason why we should not criticise his conduct, nor will that sage cease to be a sage on the ground of his delinquency in that particular action of his. But as a matter of fact, no sages have ever attended music¹ which is likely to seduce the minds of the listeners. The report that Imām Mālik was in favour of music and that he himself played on the 'ūd, (seven-chorded lute), on the ground of which the Madinites themselves listened to music, is absurd, because Imām Mālik is said to have given his opinion about those who used to sing at Madina, as follows: أما يفعل عندنا العساق "Surely it is the sinners of our country who attend music."²

Last but not least, there is a class of people who hold that the angels and the Prophets attend in an invisible way the Samā' of Mukā', whistling

¹ M R K, II, 304 sq

² M R K, II, 305 Ibn-Taimiyya relates in this connection that once Ishāq b. Mūsā at-Ṭabba (Ibn al-Jawzī gives another reading as at Ṭabbākh, see *Talbīs I c*, p. 229) asked Mālik about the license for music granted to the Madinites, whereupon he replied, "Surely it is the sinners of our country who attend it" This statement is available, adds Ibn-Taimiyya, in the books of the Mālikites themselves. Further, Ibn-Taimiyya maintains that the cause of the false allegation levelled against Imām Mālik is that the collection of Traditions made by Abū 'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī and Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Maqdisī, in which the allegation occurs, is full of unauthentic reports which have been wrongly considered as true by unexperienced persons. As-Sulamī, on account of his piety, goodness, religiosity, and mystic tendency, collected the sayings indiscriminately, and thus his collection comprised both authentic and unauthentic Traditions. This is why some narrators hesitated in transmitting Traditions from Sulamī. For example, when Baḥaqqī (Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Khusrujirdī, an authority on Tradition and a Shāfi'ī jurist, b. 384/994 d. 458/1065) reports any Tradition from Sulamī, he says حدثنا أبو عبد الرحمن من أصل سماعه "Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān narrates to me from his original hearing." Most of the Traditions that have been handed down by the famous narrator Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushairī in his well-known *Risāla*, are narrated from this Sulamī. Both Sulamī and Maqdisī were renowned narrators of Hadith, and the latter possessed special knowledge in it, and was one of the Huffāz (pl. of Ḥāfiẓ, one who knows one lac of Traditions) but in the narrations of both of them were both genuine and apocryphal Traditions (See M R K, II, 305 sq). Adh-Dhahabī considers Maqdisī an unauthentic reporter (See *Tadhkirat*, III, 233). Besides the above two narrators of Traditions, there were many others who collected Traditions both right and wrong, and, in course of time it became difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Again, it is not with respect to Samā' alone that they have done so, but there are various other topics, such as Fadā'il ash-Shuhūr, (on the merits of the lunar months), Fadā'il al-Ashkhās, (excellence of persons), etc., all of which are either false or exaggerated.

and *Tasdiya*, clapping for their own gratification, in reply to which Ibn-Taimiyya says in a scoffing manner that it is not the Prophets or the angels who attend such sorts of *Samā'*, rather it is the devils who assemble together in the congregation of the *Ṣūfis* in order to listen to their *Samā'* and to excite the hearers. Ibn-Taimiyya then tries to score off his opponents by citing a report from Ibn-'Abbās that the Prophet said: "Once the devil asked, 'O my Lord, grant me a house (to live in),' God replied, 'Your house is the Hammām, bath.' The devil asked, 'Give me a Qur'ān (to recite).' 'Your Qur'ān is ash-Shi'r, the poem,' replied God. The devil again asked, 'Appoint for me a Mu'adhdhin, caller to prayer.' 'Your Muadhdhin is the flute,' replied God." Addressing the devil, God says in the Qur'ān, "And entice such of them as thou canst by thy voice assault them with thy horsemen and thy footmen."¹ The Prophet also said in this connection: "Verily I have been forbidden from listening to two immoral voices—one is the voice of idle music and the flute of the devils, and the other is the voice of the slaps on the cheeks and rending of the collars, and of an invocation in the name of the days of ignorance." He further adds that it has been revealed to the divines through intuitions that devils attend the congregation of the *Samā' al-Jāhiliyya*, heathen music, accompanied with whistles and claps. They also visit the so-called *Ṣūfis* to excite them to dance at random, and make them work according to their will—the *Ṣūfis* who resemble the intoxicated people that abandon *Dhikr Allāh*, remembrance of God, and commit all sorts of nuisance in this world.²

RAQŞ

LET us now come to *Raqş*. *Raqş* means dance, but here it does not mean dance in general. It means the so-called emotional dance of the *Darwishes*. Al-Munbiji's treatment of *Raqş* in his treatise *Fī's-Samā' wa'r-Raqş* under review is very short, and it is probably directed against the dancing *Darwishes* of the *Mawlawiyya* fraternity. *Raqş*, no doubt, is an outcome of *Samā'* and this is why the subject does not naturally require a long discussion, and its lawfulness or unlawfulness is moreover dependent on the decision regarding *Samā'*.

On the problem of *Raqş*, al-Munbiji quotes the opinion of Imām Ibn-Taimiyya who was once asked to give a *Fatwa* about a person who composed the following verses in defence of the *Samā'* and *Raqş* of the *Darwishes*.³

انكروا رمضا وقالوا حرام	عليهم من أهل ذاك سلام
اعبد الله نا فقيه وصل	والرم الشرع فالسباع حرام
بل حرام عليك ثم حلال	عنا قوم احوالهم لانلام

¹ Sūra. XVII, 66

² M R K, II, 308 sq

³ M R K, II, 312

مثل قوم صفوا و بان لهم من جانب الطور جذوة و كلام
فاذا قول الساع يلهو فحرام على الجميع حرام

"They disapproved of Raḡṣ and declared it forbidden. Let them be in peace for such an opinion. Worship God, O ye learned, and say your prayers. Stick to the Shari'a, for Samā' is unlawful, nay, forbidden to you, though it is lawful to a section of people whose conduct is beyond suspicion. They are like those who have become pure, and then there appeared to them a fire and (Divine) speech from the direction of the mountain Tūr. (But remember) when music is used as a handmaid of sports, it is forbidden for everybody."

In reply, Ibn-Taimiyya condemns the above verses and says that the Ṣūfis referred to in the above verses have no regard for the Shari'a, and that there cannot be any comparison between these Ṣūfis and the Prophet Moses, although the line *مثل قوم صفوا و بان لهم من جانب الطور جدوه و كلام* leads us to think that these Darwishes are on a par with Moses who was called by God near the mountain—an incident about which the Qur'ān says: "When he (Moses) saw fire, and said to his family, 'Tarry ye here, for I perceive a fire: haply I may bring you a brand from it, or find a guide.'"¹ He also cites the following verses of the Qur'ān against Raḡṣ. "And walk not proudly on the earth."² "But let thy pace be middling,"³ "And the servants of the Beneficent God are they who walk upon the earth softly."⁴ "Therefore, Raḡṣ," says Ibn-Taimiyya, "which comes under the category of proud walking on the earth, has not been sanctioned by God or His Apostle or any Muslim divine. Neither the Prophet nor any one of the early Muslims ever danced in their life. Muslim worship consists of Rukū', genuflection, and *Sujūd*, prostration, with a calm and quiet mind. However, if a man is overpowered by ecstasy and passes the bounds of the Shari'a unconsciously, he may be excused provided that he is very cautious about the cause of his ecstasy. If the ecstasy comes through unlawful causes, he is accountable for it. Such a man may be compared to one who drinks wine knowing that it will intoxicate him. It must not be imagined that lawful ecstasy can ever come when he is drunk, because when drunkenness itself is forbidden, how can its effect (ecstasy) be lawful?"⁵

From the foregoing discussion on Samā' and Raḡṣ, we may conclude that the treatise, *Risālat as-Samā' wa'r-Raḡṣ* by al-Munbiḡi was directed against the Ṣūfis who used to listen to Samā', and specially against the Mawlawiyya fraternity who encouraged Samā' and Raḡṣ and propagated them amongst their disciples. The author of the treatise was himself a Ḥanbalite, and the materials used therein were drawn chiefly from the

1. Sūra XX, 9; M R K, II, 312.

2. Sūra XVII, 39.

3. Sūra XXXI, 18.

4. Sūra XXV, 64.

5. M R K, II, 297 sq.

great exponents of the Hanbalite school, namely, Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn-Taimiyya. The former left an interesting book called *Talbīs Iblīs*, or Devil's Delusion (referred to above), in which he exposed the Ṣūfīs in various ways, while the latter ridiculed them whenever occasion arose.¹ Throughout his lifetime Ibn-Taimiyya was opposed to the cult of the Ṣūfīs, which was one of the causes of his repeated imprisonments.

We have noticed Ibn-Taimiyya's division of *Samā'* into three classes of which the first is a natural sequel to his literal interpretation of the word *Samā'*, otherwise listening to the Qur'ānic verses cannot be deemed *Samā'* in any way. The second class of *Samā'* (i.e. the unlawful *Samā'*) comprises all kinds of music not excepting the one practised by the Ṣūfīs, and the third, namely the permissible *Samā'* is very limited, including as it does only those kinds of *Samā'* that were in vogue during the lifetime of the Prophet, and against which he is not said to have left any express injunction. These are, as we have noticed, *Samā'* al-Qaṣā'id, listening to poems like those of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Zuhair, Umayya b. Abī's-Ṣalt, Labīd, etc. But this cannot be a precedent to the permissibility of music at any subsequent time.

Ibn-Taimiyya, as it appears, followed his predecessor Ibn al-Jawzī² who was a veteran opposer of *Samā'* and Raqṣ, and proved their illegality by a number of Traditions and even by the help of the Qur'ānic verses.³

Analysing the arguments of al-Munbiḥī on *Samā'* we arrive at the following conclusion :—

The *Samā'* of the Darwishes did not exist during the early period of Islām. It originated during the last part of the second century A.H., and therefore we cannot reasonably expect any explicit order of the Sharī'a either for or against it. Traditions narrated by al-Maqdisī and Suhrawardī in favour of *Samā'* are unauthentic, and Ḥaḍrat 'Ā'isha's listening to the songs of the two minor Anṣār girls cannot be an excuse for proving the lawfulness of the *Samā'* of the Darwishes. Ibn ar-Rāwandī, al-Fārābī, Ibn-Sīna, etc., who practised *Samā'* and spread the custom of listening to it, have been considered by Ibn-Taimiyya as *Zanādiqa* or irreligious persons. None of the leaders of the four schools of thought ever approved of *Samā'*. What has been reported about Imām Mālik's approval of *Samā'* at Madina is false. The Sūfī Shaikhs also were against *Samā'* and some of those who once attended *Samā'* in their early days, gave it up ultimately. The Prophet's alleged approval of the *Hudā* song or the songs of the pilgrims describing the Ka'ba and the Zamzam cannot be considered as proofs for legalising the *Samā'* of the Darwishes that are extant now.

Further, we may add here the view advocated by the Imām al-Ghazzālī in his famous work, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*. To him, *Samā'* of the Darwishes

1 M R K, II, 282 sq., M R K, I, 38, 56 sq., etc.

2 See his *Talbīs I.C.*, pp. 223-25 (Cairo, 1928).

3 Sūra XXXI, 5, LIII, 61; XVII, 66

is permissible under strict conditions both disciplinary and prohibitory.¹ But, as a matter of fact, none of the conditions are actually observed in an assembly of Samā'. For example, the very first disciplinary condition (Ādāb) that Zamān (time), Makān (place), and Ikhwān (friends who will listen) must be considered before a man attends Samā', is actually disregarded in these days. The so-called Darwishes listen to Samā' at the time of prayer, and also at places where every one, even the undesirable persons, can attend and commit sins of various types. Similarly to quote only one of the prohibitory conditions ('Awārid), the injunction that boys or girls must not sing in an assembly of Samā' is seldom followed, and as a matter of fact in some cases the Samā' is not complete without them. Therefore, we can conclude that the Samā' of the present day cannot be declared lawful in Islām.² Hadrat Shaikh Nizām ad-Dīn Awliya and Hadrat Muhiy-ad-Dīn al-Jilānī did not allow their disciples to attend Samā' where there was music with the accompaniment of the tambourine, flute, drum, etc.³ Moreover, a mere glance at the books on Fiqh and legal decisions, such as *Durr al-Mukhtār*⁴ and *Fatāwa-i-'Alamgīrī*⁵ will convince us that Samā' cannot be declared lawful in Islām.

Now, a word about Raqş or the so-called dance of the Darwishes. Evidently Raqş is an outcome of ecstasy caused by Samā'. Being overpowered by Divine love and Dhikr Allāh or remembrances of God, a Şūfī becomes unconscious and moves the limbs of his body according to the rhythms of the tune and beatings of the Duff. Speaking about the reality (Ḥaqīqat) of this ecstasy, al-Ghazzālī quotes a number of sayings of the Şūfis and says that a certain Şūfī was asked about the cause of the spontaneous movements of the limbs of the body according to the rhythms and strokes, to which the Şūfī replied:

ذلك عشق عقلی والعاسق العقلی لا يحتاج الى ان نماغى معنوقه بالمنطق الجبرى بل يناغيه ويناجيه بالتسميم و اللعظ و الحرکه اللطيفة بالحاجب والجنن والا ساره .

"That is a spiritual love, and such a lover is not required to count his beloved by oral expressions, but the whispers blandishments to his beloved through his smilings, glances, and the tender movements of his

1. *Ihyā* (Cairo, 1348), Vol II, 265-69, 248-50 Here he lays down five disciplinary conditions (Ādāb) and five prohibitory conditions ('Awārid) that must be observed before one listens to Samā'

2 In this connection consult Mawlānā Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī, *Ḥaqq as-Samā'*, p. 8 sq

3 Ibid., Hadrat Nizām ad-Dīn Awliya' was in favour of Samā', but he did not approve of it in accompaniment with musical instruments. Regarding the interesting controversy between the Shaikh and the Fuqahā of Delhi, held during the reign of Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Tughlaq, whether Samā' was lawful or unlawful, see *Siyar al-Awliya'* by Mir Khurd, and also consult *Ma'ārif* (Vol II, No. 6, pp 414-419) for a valuable criticism of the statement of *Tā'rikh Fīrshāh* about the Shaikh's view on Samā'.

4 Vol IV, 201 (Urdu translation by Khurram 'Alī and Muhammad Ḥasan Siddīqī, Nawalkishore Press, 1915).

5 Vol IV, 144 (Nawalkishore Press, 1890)

eyebrows, and eyelids, and other hints."¹ This is certainly a state of unconsciousness due to excessive ecstasy. When in this state the devotee forgets everything of the commandments of the Sharī'a, and may, therefore, be excused for his conduct in going beyond the bounds of the Sharī'a, but this cannot be an argument in favour of the Raḡs of the Darwishes as it is in vogue nowadays in the Khānqās around. The foregoing Fatwā of Imām Ibn-Taimiyya does not in anyway recommend the dance of the Darwishes.

SIRAJUL HAQ.

1 *Iḥyā' l c*, Vol II, 258

AL-MUHALLAB B. ABĪ SUFRA

[THIS article epitomises the results of the work carried on by the author as research scholar under the direction of 'Allāma 'Abdul-'Azīz al-Maimanī, Chairman of the Department of Arabic, Muslim University, Aligarh, and embodied in a thesis accepted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in April, 1942. For the considerations of space, the scope of the present article is limited to a brief sketch of al-Muhallab's early career and his campaign against the 'Azāriqa, only certain important points are dealt with at some length while long periods are covered summarily. The original thesis, however, covers the full range of the life of al-Muhallab in a befitting background, and aims at bringing out al-Muhallab's distinctive qualities of generalship and at estimating his contribution to the Arabs' art of warfare, for want of which his true place in history has so far remained unrealised.

An article summing up al-Muhallab's peculiar method of warfare and distinctive qualities of generalship has already appeared in the issue of *Islamic Culture* for January 1943.

The sources for the life of al-Muhallab are the original authorities on history which furnish us with ample material for the construction of an account of his military exploits as well as for a critical examination of the merits of his generalship and the distinctive features of his strategy. But historical authorities alone do not shed sufficient light on the non-military aspects of his life, for which they are to be supplemented with works classed as belles lettres. These literary works abound in illustrations of his human qualities and cultural tastes, as well as in illuminating references to his deeds by poets and commentators. Al-Muhallab is also noticed among the Rāwīs of the Hadīth. It has also been the special care of the author to search for, and to examine critically, all such references to the life and work of al-Muhallab as are to be found in poetry and classical prose.]

I

WAS HE AN ARAB ?

AL-MUHALLAB was descended from al-'Atīk, the progenitor of a sub-branch of the South Arabian tribe, al-Azd. His father, Abū Sufra, was a native of Dabā, the old principal port and town of 'Umān. The insinuation in the verses of a few contemporary poets, viz., Ziyād

al-A'jam¹, Ka'b al-'Ashqarī,² and al-Farazdaq³ that Abū-Sufra was really a non-Arab belonging to Khuzistān or the island of Khārak (opposite the mouth of the river Shāpūr in the Persian Gulf) is not to be taken seriously.

Such references are but the irresponsible utterances, without any authoritative value, of unscrupulous poets who, in accordance with the spirit of the time, were moved by tribal jealousies and still more were motivated by selfish considerations of monetary gain. Often and without any compunction they shifted their allegiance from their erstwhile patron to his supplanter, and the praise of the latter invariably involved a satire on the former. However, it must be admitted that they seized upon a common prejudice prevalent among the Arabs of Central Arabia not particularly against al-Mahāliba alone but against the whole of Azd-'Umān in general. The truth is that, having emigrated from their original home in Yaman consequent upon the bursting of the Dam of Ma'rib, the Azd-'Umān had settled in the far-off maritime region of 'Umān, then under Persian suzerainty, as far back as during the time of Ardashir b. Bābak (226-241 A.D.) who, it is reported, made them boatmen and fishers (Yāqūt, IV, 522). No doubt, it was but natural for the dwellers in a coastal region to be attracted to the sea and take to seamanship and fishing. These two callings were considered highly derogatory to the honour of a pure Arab and hence they form the main burden of the satires against them. Even the name *Mazun* (or *Muzun*), which was often applied to them, contained a disparaging reference to the same calling of seamanship.⁴ Moreover, the Azd in 'Umān lived amidst a large non-Arab population and were also cut off from any deep and intimate contact

1. Ziyād al-A'jam says, —

هل نسمع الازد ما يقال لها في ساحة الدار أم هاهم
احتن القوم بمداهروا واستروا صلة وهم عجم

The third line is stated to refer particularly to Abū-Sufra who had remained uncircumcised till he was far advanced in age ('Ibn-Hajar Al-Isāba, IV, 109) The full report in Agh. XIII, 56, however, makes it clear that the verse was composed by Ziyād al-A'jam only in a fit of tribal jealousy, with a view to establishing the superiority of his own tribe, 'Abd al-Qas, over that of the rival poet, Ka'b al-Ashqarī, who happened to belong to the same tribe as al-Muhallab

2. Ka'b al-Ashqarī was for a long time the family poet of the Mahālib, yet he felt no scruples in satirizing them and ascribing Persian names to Abū-Sufra and his ancestors when it helped him to flatter Qutaiba b. Muslim, the powerful Qasrite, supplanter of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Cf. verses in Agh. XIII, 61, Yāqūt II, 387 and Tab II, 1239-40.

3. See *Diwān* (ed. as-Sāwī, 1353 A.H.) 11-12 and 254. During the heyday of their ascendancy, however, al-Farazdaq had no scruples in lavishing praises on the Muhallabids (*Diwān*, 374), who had long remained the target of his most vehement satires and whom he again satirized after their tragic downfall, when he had nothing to hope for or fear from them.

4. 'Mazun' is variously explained (vide *Taj* under مزن as (a) the Persian name of 'Umān as (b) connoting Mallāhīn (seamen), and as (c) a small town in 'Umān which was inhabited exclusively by Jews and seamen. In any case, it contained a reference to seamanship.

with their Arab brethren inland. This could not but conduce to their giving up many Arab notions and habits and developing un-Arab ones in their place. Thus if we scrutinize closely the satires and invectives against the Azd-ʿUmān, we shall find that they stress not so much their non-Arab origin as the un-Arab way of life practised by them. The assertion of their non-Arab origin is made just by way of a hyperbole in view of their un-Arab calling and religious and social practices. This is exactly the case, for instance, with the satires of al-Farazdaq against al-Muhallab. The main theme on which the poet dilates is that the ancestors and tribesmen of al-Muhallab practised seamanship; that they did not worship Yaghūth or go round ad-Duwār as the Arabs did; that they did not indulge in gambling and drinking-bouts, which were the proud boast of a pure Arab; that they knew not circumcision, which was one of the observances of Fiṭrah dating from the time of Abraham, etc., etc. (*vide Diwān*, II-12 and 254). Surely all this may be true but the Arab origin may still remain unquestioned.

Abū-Šufra left ʿUmān in the capacity of a warrior in the expedition organised by ʿUthmān b. Abī-al-ʿĀsī ath-Thaqafī, the governor of al-Baḥrain and ʿUmān, and was sent abroad under the command of his brother, al-Ḥakam b. Abī-al-ʿĀsī, to cross the sea and seek new conquests in the land of Fārs about the year 19 A.H. In the following year Abū-Šufra is noticed as commanding the left wing of al-Ḥakam's army in the battle of Rāshahr which was fought against Shahrak, the Marzubān of Fārs.¹ He must have settled in al-Baṣra about the year 21 A.H. when al-Muhallab is noticed with the Baṣran army.

II.

AL-MUHALLAB'S EARLY CAREER

AL-MUHALLAB was born in the year 7 A.H. We first find mention of him as serving in the Baṣran army commanded by Abū-Mūsa al-Ashʿarī in the year 21 A.H.,² his age at that time being barely fourteen years. After the defeat of the Azd, who fought on the side of ʿĀ'isha, in the Battle of the Camel (year 36 A.H.) al-Muhallab attracted the attention of ʿAlī and received his first command at the latter's hands at the age of 29.³ In the year 43 A.H. he emerged as one of the Ashrāf, i.e., prominent nobles, accompanying ʿAbdur-Rahmān b. Samura into the province of Sijistān and is expressly mentioned as having played a part in the siege and the ultimate capture of Kābul.⁴

1. *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, (ed. De Goeje), 386-77.

2. *Ibid.*, 377 seq.

3. *Al-ʿIsāba* (Cairo, 1328 A.H.), III, 535.

4. *Futūḥ*, 396; I, Athīr, (Cairo 1301 A.H.), III, 221.

In the following year (A.H. 44/A.D. 664), al-Muhallab detached himself from the main army of 'Abdur-Rahmān and advancing from the direction of Kābul made an incursion into the territory lying between that city and Multān on the north-western portion of India. Only two places,—Banna (Bannu) and Al'ahwār (Lahore)—are named as having been visited by him during this expedition, and in the same connection there is also mention of an encounter between him and eighteen "Turk" horsemen, all of whom were killed, in the country of al-Qīqān (Baluchistan). This encounter, though not so very important, is yet remarkable in that it led to the introduction of an innovation in the Muslim army. Observing that the "Turk" horsemen, all of whom rode crop-tailed horses, were exceptionally brisk and active, al-Muhallab felt that cropped tails facilitated quick movement and readily adopted the practice for his own army. Thus he is remembered as the first Muslim who docked the tail of his horses.¹

No great battle is reported during this incursion; only a few local skirmishes could have taken place, as is suggested by the words, "the enemy opposed him (al-Muhallab) and fought him and his followers."² Nor does it seem likely that al-Muhallab should have brought a large and numerous army with him or that the attack was in anyway well-planned. In all probability he could only have been in command of a small detachment, consisting mostly of his own tribesmen, the 'Azdites. Hence it is not surprising that the inroad left no lasting effects and that it did not result in new annexations to the Caliphate. Farishta adds that al-Muhallab returned to the headquarters of the army at Khurāsān with plunder and many prisoners. This, indeed, is all that he could have gained. Yet this dash into the mountainous country on the north-west of India, and even as far as Lahore inside it, was a bold stroke of military adventure. No doubt, the inhospitable country of Qīqān had been attempted even before, but the vicinity of Bannu and Lahore had not yet been reached by the Muslim warriors. Farishta is right in saying of him that he was "the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind." Even the Muslim penetration into as-Sind in later times came through the southern region of Makrān; hence, al-Muhallab's expedition from the north-west stands out conspicuous.

During the years 45-64 A.H. al-Muhallab is noticed as a high military official in the retinue of the various governors who were appointed to the province of Khurāsān from time to time, viz., al-Hakam b. Amr al-Ghifār, Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and Salm b. Ziyād. In this capacity he made himself prominent enough for his qualities of resourcefulness and regard for strategy (See Tab., II, 109, 393-4) and amply proved his fortitude, bravery, and spirit of military adventure. It must, however, be noted that al-Muhallab had not yet had an opportunity of acting as

1. *Futūḥ*, 432; I, 'Athīr, III, 225; Yāqūt, I, 747. Notice of this expedition is also found in Elliot, II, 414-15.

2. *Futūḥ*, p. 432.

independent commander, in which position alone he could bring into full play his distinctive qualities of leadership and strategic manoeuvring. This position was to be his from now onwards, and therefore it is only in the subsequent years of his life that we see him at his best.

III.

AL-MUHALLAB'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE AZĀRIQA

HAVING previously defeated the two Baṣran expeditions sent against them, the Azāriqa knocked at the very gates of al-Baṣra early in the year 66 A.H. In their hour of distress the terror-stricken inhabitants of the town flocked round al-Muhallab and entreated him to assume the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa. Al-Muhallab, however, refused to do so until the following conditions were granted to him : —

1. That he should have authority to recruit for service whomsoever he liked from among the nobles and distinguished warriors ;
2. That he should have at his disposal a sum from the Bait al-Māl with which to provide for his troops ;
3. That he should be given authority over all the lands that he subdued ; and
4. That he should be authorised to spend, out of the revenue of the lands subdued by him, as much as he deemed fit on the maintenance of his troops as well as on all other requirements of the campaign.

These terms, which were so insistently pressed by al-Muhallab, are really far more important than they at first appear to be. It speaks volumes for al-Muhallab's foresight and capacity for systematic planning that, in the interests of the campaign itself, he assured himself beforehand of the resources with which to carry on the war unhampered and independently of any other authority. That independence of action formed the cherished object of al-Muhallab is borne out by the account in *ad-Dīnāwarī (al-Akbhār at-Tiwāl, Leyden, 1888, pp. 281-82)* where it is mentioned that al-Muhallab expressly stipulated that he should be given unfettered discretion in the conduct of the campaign and that there should be absolutely no interference with his plans from any quarter whatsoever. As a further proof of his sincerity of purpose he also expressed his willingness to serve under any other general in case the Baṣrans were not prepared to accede to his terms. Thus we see that the terms reveal the calm and calculating mind of al-Muhallab. To foresee the nature of the coming struggle is one of the essential attributes of a military general, and al-Muhallab amply proved this.

Assuming command of the campaign against the Azāriqa in the beginning of the year 66 A.H., when he had already attained to the ripe

age of 59, al-Muhallab lost no time in setting in right earnest about the preliminary preparations. He selected for his army twelve thousand recruits from all the five wards of the garrison town of al-Baṣra and then turned to the all-important question of equipment. The funds in the Bait-u'l-Māl did not exceed two hundred thousand dirhems. As it would not do to draw upon these meagre and inadequate reserves, al-Muhallab had to tap some other source. With this extraordinary resourcefulness, he conceived of a very bold and an entirely original plan of providing the necessary funds. The Khārijite incursions had almost paralysed the up-country trade and the commerce of the city, which depended largely on the import of raw materials and commodities from al-Ahwāz and Fārs, was completely at a standstill. Al-Muhallab assembled the traders of al-Baṣra and impressed upon them that the only hope of the revival of their trade, which they had lost for the last one year, lay in the extermination of the menace of the Azāriqa. Once the point was driven home to them that they had a genuine stake in the success of al-Muhallab's campaign, they willingly agreed to contribute their mite by advancing large credits on the assurance of early payment and a full recognition of their services afterwards. With the credit thus available to him, al-Muhallab completed the equipment of his army. Padded over-coats (العفّاتين) and quilted gaiters (الرائات المحشوة بالمووف) are particularly mentioned as some of the articles of equipment.

THE BATTLE AT AL-JISR.

AL-MUHALLAB set before him as his immediate objective the dislodging of the Azāriqa from the threatening position which they had occupied on the other side of the Dījlātū'l-'Awṛā'. The town of al-Baṣra lay twelve miles to the west of the river and was connected with it by means of two canals—Nahr Ma'qil in the north-east and Nahr al-Ubulla in the south-east (Le Strange: *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 44). Thus the road to the east passed over two bridges, the one across Nahr Ma'qil (Cf. Tab., II, 1350, 6) in close proximity to the city, and the other over the main stream farther on. These two bridges are generally referred to in the annals as Jisru'l-Baṣra (probably identical with al-Jisru'l-Aṣghar) and al-Jisru'l-Akbar respectively. It was on the eastern extremity of al-Jisru'l-Akbar that az-Zubair b. al-Māhūz, the Azraqite lieutenant was encamped. Advancing from al-Baṣra in the west, al-Muhallab alighted at the western end of it, his troops following him mostly on foot. The bridge having previously been destroyed by the Baṣrans themselves, al-Muhallab requisitioned a number of boats in which he rushed across the river a contingent led by his son, al-Mughīra. As they neared the other shore, the enemy fell upon them and put up a strong fight to prevent their landing. At the end of a hard and close struggle, the Azāriqa lost ground, chiefly owing to al-Mughīra's strong archery. Al-Mughīra's forces at last succeeded in getting

a foothold on the other bank and kept the enemy at bay till al-Muhallab built the bridge and crossed the river with the main body of his troops. Al-Muhallab only found the Azāriqa fleeing before the Baṣrans, and he forbade his men to pursue them. He would not advance a step further without consolidating the ground he had gained, thereby also safeguarding his line of communications and retreat.

The battle at al-Jisr was followed by another one at Sūlāf, a place situated to the west of the Dujail, in which the army of al-Muhallab proved unable to withstand the whirlwind attack of the enemy and broke in disorder. Al-Muhallab, however, somehow succeeded in regrouping his army and soon braced himself for a third battle at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā in the district of al-Ahwāz. Both as regards vicissitudes and intensity, this battle proved to be the fiercest yet fought between al-Muhallab and the Azāriqa. Al-Muhallab was completely routed on the third day of the battle. It says much for his presence of mind, his indomitable courage, and confidence that he turned the tables against his foe the following day. He knew that a considerable number of the Azraqite soldiers had gone far off in pursuit of the fleeing remnant of his own army. Those who remained in the camp were complacently gloating over their victory.

It never occurred to them that, after the events of the previous day, it would ever be possible for al-Muhallab to muster courage and strength to attempt another offensive against them. No doubt, the Azāriqa had relaxed, but al-Muhallab was not the man to relax his unrelenting watch on the enemy. He launched a surprise attack with barely three thousand men, which succeeded very well and resulted in the death of the Azraqite chief, 'Ubaidullāh b. al-Māhūz (Shavvāl, 66. A.H.).

It must be remembered that this triumph of al-Muhallab was not due to mere chance or the rashness born of despair. It was a well thought-out, premeditated plan which worked out exactly according to calculations. Moreover, the Baṣrans embarked upon it with a full consciousness of their inferiority in numbers as well as equipment. It is recorded that despite the best and constant efforts of al-Muhallab, the Azāriqa were still superior in equipment, in the number of horses and in arms. They had drained the whole country from Kirmān to al-Ahwāz and hence were beset by no financial difficulties such as worried al-Muhallab. It was to make up this deficiency in arms and equipment that al-Muhallab hit upon a strange but, nevertheless, effective make-shift device. He asked every one of his soldiers to provide himself with a bag in which to carry stones which he should hurl in the face of his opponent, for "they (the stones) will serve to startle the horses and to turn their faces as well as to confound the footmen and to repel them." He even suggested to them to have recourse to such tricks as to shoot their spears like arrows and then, getting them out of the victim's bodies to do the same with them again and again; thus it was only the Baṣrans' confidence in their own prowess and in the strategy and resourcefulness of their worthy commander that spurred them on to ultimate triumph and buoyed up their spirits during the most exacting

trials. It is noteworthy that even the apparently worthless devices suggested by al-Muhallab were actually practised by his soldiers with immense advantage, and they proved as helpful as al-Muhallab had anticipated.¹

After the victory at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā, al-Muhallab was so firmly established and the Azāriqa so greatly weakened that the latter had to give up all hope of gaining an advantage over the former for the time being. Accordingly they, under their new leader az-Zubair b. 'Ali b. al-Māhūz, withdrew into the regions of Isfahān and Arrajān in the north-east and the south-east respectively. Prudently enough, al-Muhallab himself preferred not to take the initiative and launch a fresh offensive against them, because, after the hard-won victory at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā, which was gained at an immense cost to his own strength, he had no striking power left to seek an encounter with confidence in his own success. He therefore only confined himself to resisting their occasional incursions into Khuzis-tān and al-Ahwāz. Yet he attended to his defence with such alertness, alacrity, and vigour that the enemy could never catch him unawares and regain an inch of the ground previously lost to him.

Al-Muhallab was recalled from the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa in the beginning of the year 67 by the new governor of al-Baṣra, Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubair, who considered him indispensable for success in the expedition against al-Mukhtār. Al-Muhallab's actual part in the expedition fully justified the fond hopes of Muṣ'ab who afterwards appointed him governor of al-Mauṣil, the strategic importance of which region was quite supreme at that time in view of the threatened advance of 'Abdul-Malik from Syria. Al-Muhallab's governorship of al-Muṣil lasted till about the middle of the year 71 A.H., during which period 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh b. Ma'mar led the campaign against the Azāriqa without any conspicuous results. On many occasions he ignominiously failed to check the onrush of the Azāriqa, who advanced within an alarmingly short distance of al-Baṣra. It was on one such occasion in A.H. 68 that Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh b. az-Zubair, the then governor of al-Baṣra felt compelled to interrupt al-Muhallab's governorship of al-Mauṣil and to entrust him a second time with the leadership of the campaign against the Azāriqa in response to the popular clamour of the Baṣrans, for whom al-Muhallab had come to signify a guarantee of safety in himself.

The second period of al-Muhallab's campaign against the Azāriqa, however, lasted just a year, because he was soon sent back to al-Muṣil after he had pushed the Azāriqa back to Isfahān.² About the middle of the year 71 A.H. there arose a very critical situation consequent upon the planning by Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, the leader of the Azāriqa of a stab in the back from the east, as soon as Muṣ'ab had left for Maskin in order to meet 'Abdul-Malik, who was advancing from the north-west. Muṣ'ab was now faced with a very difficult situation. For more than a couple of

1. *Al-Kāmil* (Leipzig), 636 ; 638.

2. *Ibid.*, 646.

years he had made it a cardinal point of his military policy to keep al-Muhallab in al-Mausil so as to have his invaluable help at the time of 'Abdul-Malik's threatened advance from Syria. But now that the threatened danger did actually materialise, he could not but go without the help which he had so long valued. He would have very much liked to keep al-Muhallab with himself on the Syrian front, but the Baṣrans would not let him depart from the city unless al-Muhallab, and none other than he, was sent to stem the tide of the Azāriqa's advance. So Muṣ'ab had no alternative but to ask al-Muhallab to resume the leadership of the campaign a third time. Muṣ'ab was thus deprived of the help of al-Muhallab on the Syrian front, which, as was pointed out by al-Muhallab himself, was all the more necessary because the chiefs of both the cities, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa, had already entered into correspondence with the enemy and hence their adherence and loyalty could not be depended upon.¹

Al-Muhallab was still pitted against Azāriqa at Rāmahurmuz when Muṣ'ab fell at Maskin in Jumādā, 72 A.H. Soon he received a letter from the victorious 'Abdul-Malik promising him a full recognition of his merits and formally commissioning him on his behalf. His old master having fallen, al-Muhallab had no hesitation in acknowledging obedience to the new one and forthwith took the oath of allegiance to 'Abdul-Malik from his soldiers. He, however, made it quite clear in his reply to 'Abdul-Malik that he did so only in order to fall into line with the rest of the community and to maintain its solidarity, rather than from any temptation of material gain (*Anṣab al-Ashrāf*, Jerusalem, 1938, IV, p. 158). This is amply borne out by his conduct throughout. He served Muṣ'ab faithfully and loyally as long as the latter lived and wielded authority over the province. The loyal offer of his services which he, of his own accord, made to Muṣ'ab just when the other chiefs were busy promoting their treacherous designs, is a positive proof that his honesty, integrity, and loyalty were unimpeachable. With the fall of Muṣ'ab, however, al-'Irāq lay at the feet of the new conqueror. No doubt, 'Abdullāh b. az-Zubair was still there at Mecca, but was he in a position to regain his lost possessions even to maintain his authority over al-Hijāz against his powerful rival? Al-Muhallab, with his deep knowledge of military affairs, could not have failed to foresee that the position of the Caliph at Mecca was so precarious and untenable as to make his fall inevitable and mere a matter of time. Similarly, al-Muhallab must also have realised that he alone, however powerful and influential he might have been, could offer no effective resistance to the Syrian conqueror, especially when the chiefs of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa had already betrayed their lord and the internal conditions of the province were far from reassuring. In the circumstances, realism and prudence demanded what al-Muhallab did, i.e., not to stick to a leaky boat when the leaks are irreparable beyond hope. Even if views may differ about the advisability of the course adopted by al-Muhallab, his motive

1. Ibn-Athīr, IV, 158.

at least was quite unimpeachable, inasmuch as the events immediately preceding his change of allegiance show that he was strong and scrupulous enough not to be guided by selfish considerations alone. It must be remembered that the faithful adherence of al-Muhallab to Muṣ'ab up to the very last moment, in contrast with the attitude of other nobles, was deeply impressed on the hearts of the people. At a later date al-Ḥajjāj pointed out the change as an argument for mistrusting the Mahāliba, but 'Abdul-Malik was sure that their fidelity to their former masters was only a guarantee of their fidelity towards him.¹

Now 'Abdul-Malik's ardent recognition of the superb merits of al-Muhallab and his express orders that the latter should be given a free hand in the conduct of the campaign against the Azāriqa roused the jealousy of Khālid b. 'Abdullāh and Bishr b. Marwān, whom the Khalīfa successively appointed to the governorship of al-'Irāq. They were jealous that al-Muhallab should stand so high in the estimation of the Khalīfa as to receive his commands direct without any reference to the local governor, and that the local population should consider him to be indispensable to their safety and protection. Khālid b. 'Abdullāh, therefore, made over the command of the campaign to his own brother, 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, in utter disregard of the wishes of 'Abdul Malik. 'Abdul-'Azīz suffered a shameful defeat, whereupon the Khalīfa ordered Khālid himself to proceed against the Azāriqa in company with al-Muhallab, who was to be consulted in every matter.¹ Khālid, however, obeyed the orders under duress and returned to headquarters after only one engagement with Qaṭarī, in which, to use the words of the Azāriqa, he would have been annihilated but for the presence of the "Sorcerer of Muzūn" (i.e. Al-Muhallab). Bishr's enmity towards al-Muhallab went to such extreme lengths that he even plotted against the latter's life.² Still he was compelled by 'Abdul-Malik to send al-Muhallab once again to lead the campaign against the Azāriqa.

Thus al-Muhallab assumed command of the campaign against the Azāriqa for the fourth and last time in 74 A.H. Within a few months, while al-Muhallab had not yet advanced beyond Rāmahurmuz, Bishr died. The disappearance of the permanent head and the weakness of the government roused spirit of defection among the Kūfan soldiers and the infection soon spread among the Baṣrans as well. It was now quite clear that a strong and stable provincial government and an earnestly helpful governor were essential for the successful conclusion of the campaign. Fortunately enough, 'Abdul-Malik's choice of a successor to the governorship of al-'Irāq fell upon al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the right man of the hour, who whatever view may be taken about the moral admissibility of his

1. Tab., II, 1140; 1143-4.

2. Ibid., 825.

3. Ibn-Qutaiba, *Al-Imāmat was-Siyāsāt*, II, 77.

methods, was singularly adept in reducing the rebels to obedience and evolving order from chaos.

As a result of the stern measures taken by al-Ḥajjāj, the troops poured upon al-Muhallab in such large numbers that he exclaimed, "Now, certainly, the enemy will be finally defeated." Soon al-Muhallab launched a vigorous offensive at Kāzarūn, in the month of Ramaḍān, 75 A.H. Victory was almost complete when the enemy made a night attack on the Kūfan contingent commanded by Ibn-Mikhnaf, who had to pay dearly with his own life as well as the lives of a large number of his troops for the haughty disregard of al-Muhallab's warning to take the necessary precautions.

The offensive at Kāzarūn was followed by a prolonged lull for over two years, during which both the contending armies lay opposite each other in Sābūr, the operations being confined to mere occasional skirmishing. Now al-Muhallab's deliberate avoidance of a straight combat till such time as the enemy was exhausted as regards morale and material resources, was quite unintelligible to al-Ḥajjāj. In his impatience, he sent a number of reproachful messages giving vent to his suspicions that al-Muhallab procrastinated with the Azāriqa with the selfish motive of maintaining himself in a lucrative position, and urging upon him to rush headlong into a desperate head-on encounter. Al-Muhallab, however, showed an amazing confidence in his own judgment, as well as moral courage, in resisting pressure from his overlord. As a matter of fact, the conditions were such that no advance was possible. The Azraqites were still undaunted and the balance of power was almost equal on either side.

Any attempt to force the enemy back resulted only in heavy losses on both sides without any advantage to either. It was, therefore, but wise and expedient on the part of al-Muhallab to wait patiently for such time as the Azraqites were worn out and showed signs of weakness.

Such an opportunity seems to have occurred about the end of the year 77 A.H., when al-Muhallab launched an attack on the Azraqites which is mentioned in the annals as the Day of al-Bustān.¹ No details are available and even al-Bustān remains unidentified. Yet the battle seems to have been a major one initiated at the instance of al-Muhallab. Thus it can be taken as marking a turn in the course of the war. Now at last the moment to strike had come and al-Muhallab was not the man to ignore it. Henceforth he would allow no respite to the enemy. He at once launched a drive aimed at squeezing the Azāriqa out of Fārs. At the same time he also played another trump-card, i.e., al-Khada' (as distinguished from 'al-Ḥarb'), which succeeded singularly and profited him immensely.

It must be remembered that the Azraqites were not rebels or depraved criminals who could be subdued by mere force of arms. They were the selfless champions of a certain religious creed, no matter how destructive

1. Tab., II, 1003.

it was, and the destruction of their unity and their faith was a prerequisite of their own annihilation. Al-Muhallab had clearly realised this from the very beginning when he said that he counted upon a split among the Azāriqa themselves for their destruction. But dissensions were not left to arise of themselves; al-Muhallab himself sowed the seeds of discord. Al-Kāmil (677-79) records three successive moves on his part in this direction:—

1. It so happened that there was an Azraqite blacksmith called Abzā who made poisoned arrows which were used against the army of al-Muhallab. When the matter was brought to the notice of al-Muhallab he conceived of a plan that was specially well-adapted in view of the rash fanaticism of the Azraqites. He commissioned a man to go secretly and cautiously to the camp of the Azāriqa with a letter and a purse of one thousand dirhems and to drop them there. The letter was addressed to Abzā and contained the following:—

“I am in receipt of your arrows and am sending you one thousand dirhems. So receive the amount and send us more of the arrows.”

As was intended, the letter and the dirhems fell into the hands of Qatārī, who summoned Abzā and questioned him about the matter. Abzā, innocent as he was, denied all knowledge of the letter or the dirhems. He was nevertheless beheaded by orders of Qatārī. This action of Qatārī met with the disapproval of a prominent follower of his, ‘Abd-Rabbiḥi as-Ṣaghīr, a ‘Mawlā’ of Banū Qais b. Tha‘laba, who came to him and protested that it was rash to condemn a man to death without making sure of his guilt by a careful investigation of the charges levelled against him. Further, he stressed that the whole statement about the letter and the dirhems was equally likely to be true or false. To this Qatārī only replied that the murder of a man in the common interest of the community could not be objected to, and that it was no business of the subjects to criticise the actions of the Imām, who had full authority to do whatever he seemed necessary in the interests of the common weal. This authoritative reply silenced but did not satisfy the conscientious objector, who, along with a number of those of his own way of thinking, was henceforth inwardly opposed to Qatārī’s leadership.

Seeing that the first seed of discord had fallen on fertile ground, al-Muhallab followed it up by two other clever moves which show his thorough understanding of the enemy and his deep insight into the peculiar sentiments and the psychology of the Azraqites. The Azraqites had a particular foible for quibbling over subtleties of the Orthodox Shari‘at law, and their extreme Puritanism often led to a ludicrous emphasis on the letter at the expense of the spirit. Al-Muhallab proved himself shrewd enough to play upon this besetting weakness and to exploit it to his advantage.

2. The second move of al-Muhallab was to despatch a Christian with instructions to fall prostrate before Qatārī, and, on his deprecating the

act of worship paid to him, to affirm that he had done it to none other than the Imām. The Christian acted accordingly, and when Qaṭarī reproved him, saying that 'Sujūd' belonged to Allāh alone, he asserted, "I have done it to none but yourself." An Azraqite was quick to seize upon this, and urged that the Christian's act of worship had placed Qaṭarī in the category of "those whom you worship instead of Allāh," who, together with their worshippers, the Qur'ān declares, will be turned into fuel for the fire of Hell.¹ Qaṭarī argued in vain that the Christians worshipped 'Isā b. Maryam and by their so doing, the prophet 'Isā was not censured. In the meantime another Azraqite hastened to kill the Christian, which action further accentuated the controversy because Qaṭarī denounced it openly on the ground that the Christian was a 'dhimmī' and as such was entitled to protection. This move left the Azraqites still more divided than before.

3. The third move was to confront the Azraqites with a poser calculated to give rise to a theoretical controversy. At the instigation of al-Muhallab, a man went to the Azraqites and asked them for their judgment about two emigrants, one of whom had died on his way towards them while the other reached them but failed to come up to the test (المحنة). Some declared that both were infidels, while others made an exception in favour of the former, whom they pronounced to be a Mu'min, entitled to a place in paradise.

Although it took some time before the Azāriqa suffered actual disintegration, the differences among them, as a result of the foregoing machinations engineered by al-Muhallab, were now sufficiently acute to paralyse their war-like activities. The position was now clearly untenable for the Azāriqa. Fārs was fast slipping out of their hands, and thus they were deprived of the commodities of that rich province. They were now hard-pressed for supplies. No doubt they still possessed Kirmān, but the problem of transport bristled with difficulties because the distance was very considerable.² So the pinch of scarcity compelled them to retire into Kirmān, while al-Muhallab established his sway over the districts of Iṣṭakhr and Darābjird.

Having consolidated his position in the border districts of Iṣṭakhr and Darābjird, al-Muhallab had cleared the whole of the province of Fārs of the Azraqites. He then followed the retreating enemy into the adjacent province of Kirmān. In the meantime, towards the middle of the year 78 A.H. there broke out a revolt among the Azāriqa against the leadership of Qaṭarī, the ringleader of the revolt being the same Abd-Rabbiḥī who had for sometime been inwardly opposed to Qaṭarī as a result of al-Muhallab's clever intrigues. The schism became doubly formidable when racial distinctions came into play. The majority of the non-Arab Mawālī

1. Cf. Qur'ān, *الْأَكْمَرُ وَمَا يَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ حُصْبٌ جَهَنَّمَ*

2. Tab. II, 1003.

numbering eight thousand, flocked round 'Abd-Rabbihi, himself a client of Banū-Qais b. Tha'laba, whereas Qatārī only retained a following consisting mainly of Arabs and estimated at about one-fourth or one-fifth of the whole.¹ Al-Ḥajjāj again pressed al-Muhallab to lose no time in launching an attack on the Azāriqa while they were divided among themselves. Al-Muhallab, however, knew his job better. He did not want to distract the Azāriqa from internecine warfare by advancing against them at that time. Moreover, he was patient and calculating enough to plan his moves in such a way as to face one enemy at a time. When the Azāriqa had fought among themselves for one month, al-Muhallab sent a man into the camp of Qatārī with the mission of propagating the idea that it was wrong on the part of Qatārī to place himself between 'Abd-Rabbihi on the one hand and al-Muhallab on the other, and thus face two enemies at the same time. Curiously enough, Qatārī at once fell into the trap. He forthwith departed for Ṭabaristān, arguing that this would enable him to face al-Muhallab with full strength if the latter chose to pursue him. On the other hand, if al-Muhallab chose to stay behind against 'Abd-Rabbihi, then it was all that could be desired.

Having got rid of Qatārī, al-Muhallab succeeded in disposing of 'Abd-Rabbihi without difficulty. Qatārī and his adherents were also annihilated in Ṭabaristān by an expedition sent specially for the purpose. Thus the campaign against the Azāriqa, which had lasted for thirteen years, ended in the virtual extermination of the indomitable militant sect, solely as a result of al-Muhallab's singular capacity for diplomatic manœuvring and strategic planning, as the poet, al-Mutanabbi, says:—

”أُسِمَتِ الْخَلْفُ بِأَلْشَرِّهِ عَدَايَا”

“Disunity among the Shurāt (i.e. the Khārijites) made their enemies rejoice.”

Later on, al-Muhallab was appointed governor of Khurāsān, which post he held till his death in 82 A.H. at the age of 76.

S. M. YUSUF.

1. Ṭab. II, 1006.

THE DĪWĀN AND THE QUATRAINS OF DĀRĀ SHIKOH

ہزار و بیست غزل گفت قادری در عشق مگر چه سود کہ کس متنبہ نمی گردد

"On Love Qādirī wrote a thousand and twenty lyrics,
But of what use ? None takes warning !"

DĀRĀ SHIKOH.

I.

THE EXTANT MS. COPY OF THE DĪWĀN OF DĀRĀ SHIKOH

THE *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh, hitherto known as the *Iksīr-i-A'zam* and till recently considered as non-existent or lost, has been fortunately restored by Khān Bahādur Zafar Hasan.¹ Prior to the discovery of his *Dīwān*, Dārā Shikoh's extant poetical compositions consisted only of a few fragmentary verses in various *Tadhkiras*, and a number of quatrains scattered in some of his works, viz., the *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, the *Hasanāt-ul-Ārifin* and the *Risāla'i-Haq Numā*. It is, however, odd that of all the works of the prince, only his *Dīwān* should have been thrown into oblivion by posterity, which has otherwise preserved a dozen of his other works in their entirety ; nor can it be safely assumed that his political opponents, particularly the *Ulema*, would have deliberately singled out his poetical utterances as the embodiment of heresy and apostasy, while leaving his more objectionable works (from their point of view) like the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* and the *Sirr-i-Akbar*, to circulate unhampered. But now that the *Dīwān* or at least a part of it is available to us, we can judge this unusual phenomenon of the hitherto obscure *Dīwān* in its true perspective.

1. The following details of the MS. copy of the *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh have been supplied by the Khān Bahādur in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, No. 1 (1939) It contains 133 Ghazals and 28 Rubā'iyāt foll. 48., 6½ × 4, written in Shikasta script on Kashmiri paper. The MS. is worm-eaten and incomplete, some of the folios in the middle are wanting. The writing is old (17th century) and, having lost its sheen, is undecipherable. The first and the last folios are intact and contain, respectively, an endorsement and a colophon. The former reads 'مخلص قادری' and the latter 'دیوان داراشکوہ' ; and the latter 'دیوان داراشکوہ بادشاہ زادہ، قادری مخلص'.

So far as is known, this is the only extant MS. of the *Dīwān* which has survived the ravages of time, with the exception, perhaps, of another copy of the same, said to be in the possession of Mr Bahādur Singh Singhī, 48, Gariahat Road, Calcutta. This copy was exhibited by the owner at one of the ordinary meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and later, though I was permitted by the owner to examine it at leisure, I could not do so, in spite of my best efforts.

The *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh, as it is, is very little known and still unpublished.

ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS TADHKIRAS ABOUT HIS POETICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

THE appeal of lyrical poetry is psychologically emotional or intellectual, and it is seldom that a poet of real merit gains recognition from posterity on any other basis. Unless the poet has a super-graceful style, both in thought and expression, even his deft representation of ethical and moral subjects in a Ghazal fails to create an atmosphere harmonious with the spirit of the time. The predominant theme of Dārā Shikoh's verse, as we shall presently find, revolves on things which had very little subjective appeal, and even if it had been otherwise, his extremely prosaic elaboration of pantheistic thought would hardly have earned him a creditable place in the memoirs of contemporary Tadhkira-writers. Mullā Shāh, his spiritual guide and preceptor, in a letter to Dārā Shikoh, admits that the latter is endowed with real poetical gifts and describes his verses as "incomparable and heart-pleasing."¹ The author of the *Khazīnat-ul-Aṣfiyā'* (wr. 1280 A.H.) observes that Dārā Shikoh had written excellent Ghazals and that his *Dīwān* entitled the *Iksīr-i-A'zam* was compiled during his lifetime. He claims to have perused a copy of it and remarks:² "His poetry is like the ocean of Unitarianism, flowing out of his pearl scattering tongue; or, like the sun of Monotheism, rising from the horizon in the manner of his luminous opening verse (Maṭla'). Intelligence is necessary to comprehend his poetry, and instinctive aptitude is essential to grasp its meaning." Afdal-ud-Dīn Sarkhush sums up his poetical merits in this manner: "Muḥammed Dārā Shikoh, styled Shāh-i-Buland-Iqbāl, the heir-apparent to the Emperor Shāh Jahān, was a prince of good disposition, fine imagination, and handsome appearance. He had a forbearing temperament, led the life of a mystic, was a friend of the saints, and was a monotheist and a philosopher. He possessed a noble mind and a far-reaching intelligence. He has expressed Sufistic views in quatrains and Ghazals, and in view of his adherence to the Qādirī order adopted the *nom de plume* of Qādirī. A small *Dīwān* of his verses has been compiled."

1. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā'*, p. 144. "All the excellences are under the subjugation of an 'Ārif, and this is well established that you are in possession of some degree of harmoniousness," he writes to the prince, "What shall I say of your incomparable and heart-pleasing verse? What sweet fruits cannot be borne by this pure clay!"

2. Vol. I, p. 175.

سخن دریائی توحید است که از زبان گهر افشان او روان گشته، و یا حورشید و حدایت است که از افق بان مطلع انوارش طلوع گشته، مغزی باید که سخنش را همدم و دی باید که معانی آن در وی امکان پذیرد.

3. *Kalamāt-ush-Shu'ara*.

محمد داراشکوه شاه بلد اقبال ولی عهد پادشاه شاهجهان طبع بلد و ذهن رسا داشت مطالب صوفیه در رباعی و غزل منظوم می کرد و بحسب اعتقادی که بسلسله قادریه داشت نادری تخلص می کرد. دیوان مختصر از او جمع شده
دیوان مختصر از او جمع شده

As to the first statement, the endorsement on the fly-leaf of the *Dīwān* and *Maqta'* of each one of his Ghazals, together with many signed specimens of his name, prove beyond any doubt that he had adopted the pen-name of Qādirī; but as regards the name of his *Dīwān* being *Iksir-i-A'zam*, there is probably no other evidence except that of the *Khazinat-ul-Aṣfiyā*, a work compiled about 200 years after the death of the prince. The colophon, as well as the endorsement in the MS. noticed by Khān Bahādur Zafar Ḥasan, simply calls it *Dīwān-i-Dārā Shikoh*.

DĀRĀ SHIKOH'S INTEREST IN CLASSICAL PERSIAN LITERATURE

BUT apart from the meagre information concerning his accomplishments as a poet gleaned from one or two Tadhkiras, Dārā Shikoh seems to have been very well-read in classical Persian literature. His intense love for poetry is borne out by the fact that in his works he has admired, respected, and quoted profusely from a large number of poets, viz., Rūmī, Jāmī, Sanā'i, Nizāmī, 'Aṭṭār, Abū-Sa'id Abu'l-Khair, Khusrau, Ghazzālī, Ibn al-'Arabī, Kamāl Khujandī, Shams-i-Tabriz, Hāfiz, Sa'dī, Aḥmad Jām, 'Irāqī, Khāqānī, and a host of others. The number of such quotations from the works of eminent Persian (chiefly mystic) poets in the *Safinat-ul-Awliya* is 34, and the verses and quatrains of various poets and mystics both in the *Hasanāt-ul-'Arifin* and the *Risāla'i Haq Numā* amount to 41. Considering also the large number of standard works on Sufism, philosophy, history, and biography, which he has utilised as the basis of his three biographical memoirs,¹ one cannot but come to the conclusion that, to a very considerable extent, he remained in touch with Persian literature. Rūmī, Jāmī, and Sanā'i seem to be his favourite poets. With some of the views of Sanā'i he disagreed at first, but later came to the conclusion that most of his heterodox verses were spurious. Jāmī, he observes,² he had respected and revered like his own teacher and guide, and adds that both in prose and poetry he has written in imitation of him. Thus we find that his *Safinat-ul-Awliya* is nothing but a prototype of Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt-ul-Uns*, and his treatise on Sūfism, *Tarīqat-ul-Haqīqat*, though much inferior in depth and sublimity of thought when compared with Jāmī's *Lauwā'ih*,³ is nevertheless modelled on the latter; so close is the imitation in style and the arrangement of sections that Dārā Shikoh's *Thirty Stages*

1. For details vide the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, *Sāntiniketan* (Vol. V., part III., p. 275-290, Vol. V., part V, p. 365-375; Vol. VI, part I, p. 67-78; Vol. VI, part pp. 134-146 and Vol. VI, part IV, p. 331-345, where the writer of the present paper has contributed a series of articles on the works of Dārā Shikoh.

2. Cf. *Lauwā'ih* of Jāmī, ed. by Whinfield and Kazvini, *R.A.S.*, 1928.

و فقیر عیشہ تصایف نذر و نظام ایشان (ملاجای) را مطالعه می نماید و از برکت کلام حقیقت فائده ها می رباید.
این کتاب (سبیه الاولیاء) را که می نویسد همه از تع و شاگردی ایشان است.

(MS. in the Punjab University Library)

3. *Safinat-ul-Awliya*, fol. 143b.

appear as a counterpart of Jāmi's 'Thirty Flashes.' Rūmī's philosophy had a special appeal for him and he seems to be deeply interested in his ethical deductions, so much so that nearly three-fourths of the metrical portion of the *Tarīqat-ul-Haqīqat* consists of quotations from the *Mathnawī*-i-Ma'nawī, the remaining one-fourth being verses of Jāmi, Sa'dī and Khusrau. In the *Mathnawī* literature, on the whole, he seems to be extremely well-read, and it is recorded that he once presented a copy of Nizāmī's *Khamṣa* to Muḥammad Hakim Jauharī of Tabriz. This MS. is still preserved in the India Office Library.¹

DĀRĀ SHIKOH : A PATRON OF POETS

DĀRĀ SHIKOH's literary activities, as is evident from his works, covered a wide field. Like many cultured Mughal princes, he extended his generous patronage to many poets and scholars. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact number of his *protégés*. *Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl* mentions² that among other poets Mirza Raḍī Dānīsh (d. 1076 A.H./1665 A.D.) was the most favoured by him, so much so that, on hearing the following Ghazal of the poet, the prince gave him a reward of rupees 100,000 :

موسمی آن شد که ادرے ترجمن پرورشود	نکب کل مایه شور جنون در سرشود
ناک را سیراب ساز اے ابر نیسان در بهار	قطره دا مے تو اند شد چرا گوهر شود
نالہ بلبل نہان در پردہ برگ گل است	بید ماغم کاش او این یک بردہ نازک ترشود
مابدوق گریہ هستی در این بزم آمدم	مے بدہ ساق بقادری آن کہ چشمم برسود
راز پوسیدان نیاید دانش از بیتاب عشق	در میان انجمن پروانہ خاکسرسود

Another poet whom Dārā Shikoh favoured greatly was his chief secretary, Chandar Bhān Brahman."³ It is recorded⁴ that once the prince asked the latter to recite in the presence of Shāh Jahān the following verse which he himself admired :

مراد لیست بکفر آشنا کہ چندین بار بہ کعبہ بردم و نازش برہمن آوردم

So greatly is my heart associated with infidelity, that many a time
When I took it to Mecca, it returned a Brahman.

1. Vide Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office*, Vol. I, No. 980. According to the colophon of this MS. the date of the presentation is the 12th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1061 (August, 29 A.D. 1651).

2. Calcutta, p. 258.

3. Cf. Dārā Shikoh :

سلطنت سہل است خود را آشنائی فقر کن قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود ؟

For his life and works, vide *The Muslim Review*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 41 ff.

4. *Mir'āt-ul-Khayāl*, p. 214.

The Emperor was enraged at the audacity of the non-Muslim poet, but Afḍal Khān pacified him by quoting the following verse of Sa'dī :

حر عیسی اگر به مکہ رود چون بیاید هور خر ناسد

Christ's ass, even if it were to go on pilgrimage to Mecca,
An ass it would remain on its return.

Even this incomplete *Dīwān* of Dārā Shikoh is a rare find, for the religious, moral, and ethical views of a poet can only be brought into living contact with his time by a critical study of his poetical compositions. More often, the *Dīwān* of a poet furnishes a better insight into his sub-conscious mind than the coloured narratives of the Tadhkira-writers, who are, more or less, swayed by personal likings or dislikings. In this respect, the *Dīwān* and the quatrains (scattered in his works) provide for us a more solid background for a proper estimate of the literary achievements of the prince.

GENERAL FEATURES OF HIS POETRY

DĀRĀ SHIKOH's poetry consists chiefly of two interrelated elements—Sūfism and Qādirism ; an undercurrent of a didactic and ethical note, an echo of his association with saints and his intimate knowledge of the Persian literature on mysticism, runsthrough his Ghazals and Rubā'iyāt. But his doctrinal mysticism is neither intellectual nor meditative ; it is intensively intuitive, anti-scholastic, and pantheistic in the extreme. In most of his quatrains, he has invariably tried to expatiate upon the Sūfic aphorisms, and as a natural consequence of this dilation upon the views expressed by other mystics, his mystic thought lacks spontaneity and individuality—a factor, which has tended to create a shallow moral or intellectual atmosphere in his verse. From a purely literary point of view, his style is prosaic in the extreme, and it is rarely that, in a Ghazal, a verse or two give a flash of real poetic imagination. Generally, his Ghazal lacks the lyrical touch, poetic emotionalism and a graceful sublimity both in thought and expression. A didactic theme expressed in matter-of-fact language is unsuitable for the Persian Ghazal, and in the description of Love and Beauty as represented in their transcendent forms, he has drifted helplessly back to effete and colourless Persianisms.

His quatrains, with their rugged language and unpolished expression, show little fertility of imagination, and in style or thought can hardly approach the marked individuality of those of the eminent Persian poets like Abū-Sa'īd Abū'l-Khair, Shaikh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, and 'Umar Khayyām. The high value of most of these, which I have collected from his works, is somewhat dimmed by the fact that they represent only a versified expression of the sayings of various saints rather than Dārā Shikoh's

own views. The truth of this statement is borne out by the following analytical table :

Quatrain No.	Subject	Source
I	All is He (<i>Hama Ūst</i>).	Shaikh Farīd (d. 1062 A.H.)
IV	The seeker of Divine Communion is above all religions.	Shaikh 'Abbās bin Yūsuf ash-Shaklī.
XXXII	Gnostics do not follow the lead given by others.	Shaikh Abū Madīn Maghribī.
V	The Symbol of Tawhīd is even forgetfulness of Tawhīd.	Shaikh Abul-'Abbās.
VII	Condemnation of Self is association with God	Shaikh Abū-Bakr al-Wāsitī.
XVI	The ignorance of those who remember God is greater than the ignorance of the commonalty.	Shaikh Abu-Bakr al-Wāsitī.
IX	'Everything is the Truth' is greater than 'I am the Truth.'	Shaikh-ul-Islām 'Abdullāh Anṣārī.
XIX	Consubstantiality ('Ainiyat) and not knowledge ('Ilm) leads to the attainment of Unity.	Abū Ṣāliḥ Damishqī.
XXXI	The Ulema of the present age are in reality ignoramuses in their own eyes but learned in the eyes of the ignoramuses.	Imām al-Ghazzālī.
XXX	All things are capable of perceiving the Divinity	Ibn al-'Arabi.
VI	The Beloved is ever visible to the eye ; He is not an object for contemplation or visualisation. He is the 'Ayniyat.	Mullā Sa'd-ud-Dīn Kāshgharī.
XII	Even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism (Shirk).	Sayyid-ut-Tā'fa Junaid.
XXIV	Worship of God ; if it becomes public, falsifies itself.	Shaikh Abū-Madīn Maghribī.
XXVII	'He who knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.'	Shaikh 'Abdullāh Balyānī.
XXVIII	Mysticism ? It is even considering forgetfulness as the existence of God.	Shaikh 'Abū-'Abdullāh Khaffīf.
XI	'A candle illuminates a thousand candles.'	Bābā Lāl.
XXII	Pronouncing the name of God is done through ignorance.	Mullā Khwāja (a pupil of Miyān Mīr).
XIV	'The bubble when it bursts becomes the very ocean.'	Bābā Piyārī.
XXIX	'Men of heart do not fear Death's approach.'	Shaikh Farīd.

These versifications of Sūfī aphorisms none the less indicate his leanings towards pantheistic thought. In his *Diwān*, he is fond of giving voice to heterodox ideas and his poetic imagination transcends the limits imposed by religious conventions. This he does by the employment of a pun on the word Qādirī (Dārā Shikoh) and Qādir (God) :

1

فادری گسب قادر مطلق ار بی هر ما کمال نقاس

Qādirī (Dārā Shikoh) became the Almighty.
In the wake of every annihilation lies the perfection of subsistence

2

فادری رود عین فادر سد چون مدد کرد قادر عداد

When the Qādir of Baghdād (Shaikh 'Abdul-Qādir) helped him,
Qādirī (Dārā Shikoh) became the very God (Qādir)

3

فادری رار قدرت کامل فادر دو الحلال سار دمی

With Your perfect Providence make Qādirī (Dārā Shikoh)
For a while powerful and glorified

4

And a similar pun on the word *Dārā*

چون بهارائی حویس دل به سپرد فادری بیر عین دارا سد

When he delivered his heart to his Lord (Dārā),
Qādirī also became the very God (Dārā).

And this quatrain and the verses that follow give a contrary view :

Though I do not think myself separate from Him,
Yet I do not consider myself God
Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond
Quatrain XIII.

5

فادری نسب حر قادر وحده لا اله الا هو

O, Qādirī, there is none except God (Qādir)
He is one and there is no God but He

6

هر سو که نظر کی همه اوس وجه الله عباس ربو را

Look where you can, All is He
God's face is ever face to face

7

سوجه مشو بعیر خدا رسته هسب سحره و رنار

Turn to none except God,
The rosāry and sacred thread are means to an end (connecting link).

8

هر چه بینی جز او این و هم بواس
عراودارد وجودی چون سراب
بجز لامحدود داب واحد است
ما و چون نقش و خون سوح بر آب

Whatever thou beholdest except Him, is the object of thy fancy ;
Things other than He have their existence like a mirage

The existence of one God is like a boundless ocean,
Men are like forms and waves in its water.

The hypocrisy and self-conceit of the psuedo-mystic and ignorant Mullā is a common theme for the cynical flings of a poet. Here are some verses of Dārā Shikoh :

I

بہنس آن جا کہ ملائی باشد زملا سور و عوغائی نباشد
جہاں خالی سود از سور ملا ر فوی هاس بروائی بباشد
در آن سہری کہ ملا خانہ دارد در آنجا هیچ دانائی ناسد

Paradise is there where no Mullā abides,
Where there is no argument and tumult with him.
May the world become free from the noise of the Mullā !
May no one heed to his Fatwās
In the city where a Mullā resides,
No wise man is ever found.

And this quatrain :

2

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam,
Said Husain (Manşūr Ḥallāj) : " (I am) the Truth " and got the gallows.
Every prophet and saint suffered torments,
Due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullā.

Quatrain xxxi.

3

ہر کہ می در جام وحدت در گرفت زاہدان شہر را چون خر گرفت

He who drank from the cup of Unity,
Regarded the city's ascetics as asses.

4

جملہ عجب و ریاست این نقوی کے بود لائق نگار ما ؟

All this piety is conceit and hypocrisy,
How can it be worthy of our Beloved ?

5

چند باری بونرسریع خود احمد مرسل از حداسب سوا ؟

How long would you interpret your Law playfully
That Ahmad, the Apostle, is different from God ?

As was mentioned above, Qādirism and the eulogies of the saints of various orders form a special feature of Dārā Shikoh's poetry. The following Ghazal is typical of his views expressing the superiority of the Qādirī order :

سلسلہ زلف یار سلسلہ مابود	طالب آن روئی را حوسترارس حابود ؟
هر که دل خویش را سب نایب سلسله	هر دم و هر ساعسی کار نا لا بود
هست نایب آمده سلسله بر ما	نا نه فایب همی سلسله ما بود
مظهر او ساه من مهر اهل زمان	داب غریس یقین داب معلابود
دست در این سلسله هر که رند قلب او	برم سود همچو بوم گرچه او خارا بود
سلسله قادریسب آن که محکم خدا	بر همه قادر بود تاهمه دنیا بود 1

Many Qādirī saints are the subject of his praise : in one of his Ghazals, he describes Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī as the " Shelter of Mankind " " a guide to the highway to the religion of Ahmad " (Peace be on him !) ; and of himself, he observes : " How can I call myself his disciple ? I am a dog on his threshold." In many other Ghazals he has shown his devotion to saints like Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Suhrawardī of Multan, Mullāh Shāh, Mīyān Mīr and many places associated with them. Of Kashmir, where his teacher Mullā Shāh resided, he says, ' When my spiritual guide is my lord and master, my Ka'ba is the blessed Kashmir.'² Of the Punjab, Lahore, and Dārāpur(?) he is enamoured, for Mīyān Mīr lived and died there. He says :

عشوق نجایم نموده بفرار	رانکه نفس دوست در نجایب هست
کعبه من حصرت لاهور دال	سجده من سوئی آن محراب هست
قادری را کعبه دارایور سد	کاندران سیار فتح الباب هست

There are also numerous verses in praise of the holy Prophet (Peace be on him !), the four caliphs, and men of saintly orders

1. Sakinat-ul-Awliya, Lahore lithograph, p 18-19.

2. چون خدا و صاحب من پیر است کعبه من حصرت کشمیر است

REALISATION OF THE UNITY

IN the complete realisation of the Unity, spiritual oneness with the Truth is even unconsciousness of the Truth itself. "It is a realisation free from quest and beholding the Beloved, without even looking for Him, for the beholder is an obstacle in the vision of God." So says Dārā Shikoh :

"Sit for a while separate from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.

Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism (Shirk)
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition within thy own self.

Quatrain xii.

The highest attainment for human existence is spiritual advancement.
Poverty is better than material prosperity :

I

سلط سہل اسب خود را آسنائی فقر کن قطره تا دریا تواند شد چرا گوهر شود ؟

Kingship is easy, acquaint thyself with poverty :

Why should a drop become a pearl when it can transform itself into an ocean ?

2

دادتاهی را گذارای دوست آگهی گرین چون بہ آگهی رسیدی عرچہ می خواہی گرین

3

دست زر آلود بدو می شود جان زر آلود را احوال چیست

روز و سب گوشت بہ مرگ مردم است مر ترا مر دن بود این حال چیست

Hands soiled with gold begin to stink,

How (bad) would be the plight of a soul soiled with gold !

Day and night thou hearest of people's death,

Thou hast also to die, how strange is this behaviour !

The following Ghazals are excellent specimens of his didactic tone :

مسافر

مسافر ہر قدر باشد سبکسار نیابد در سفر تصدیع و آزار

تو ہم اندر جہان هستی مسافر یقین می دان اگر هستی تو ہشیار

بقدر مال باشد سرگراتی بقدر پیچ باشد بار دستار
خودی را نیز از سر دورگردان که هم بار است بار وهم و پندار
تو ما باشی به دنیا باش آزاد ترا چون قادری کرده خبردار

TRAVELLER

The more a traveller is unencumbered,
The less he feels worried and anxious in his journey.
Thou, too, art a traveller in this world,
Take this as certain, if thou art wakeful.
One's dissatisfaction corresponds to his riches—
Heavier is the turban with a large number of folds.
Drive egoism away from you, for
Like conceit and arrogance's load, it is also a burden.
So long as you live in this world, be independent :
Qādiri has forewarned you !

2

انسان السکامل

آدمی قدر خویش می دانی ؟ که توئی گنج سرینهای
دست و پائی تو نفس الله است چون نداده را نمی خوانی
خلق آدم بود بصورت حق زان خلیفه شدی و سلطانی
دل تو عرش و کرسی و لوح اسب کاندران هست علم ربانی
روح خود در دمید اندر نو زان ترا سجده کرد روحانی
هم محمد بوئی و هم الله این عنایت تراست ارزانی
قادری قادری (۹) نای تا سر تمام جانانی

THE PERFECT MAN

O Man, dost thou know thy own worth,
That thou art the treasure of the hidden secret ?
Thy form (hands and feet) hath God's imprint on it,
Why dost thou not say that (the) hand of Allāh (is above thy hand) ?
Adam was created in the form of the Almighty,
Hence thou becomest a Caliph or a Sultan.
Thy mind is the 'Throne,' the 'Footstool' and the 'Tablet'
For it is the reservoir of Divine Knowledge.
His own Spirit He hath breathed into thee,
The angels, therefore, bowed unto thee.

۱. *Tadhkira*-'i-Sarkhusht reads this line 'ز وزن زر نژاید بار دستار'

Thou art Muhammad and God too (sic)
 This favour hath been bestowed upon thee in abundance.
 Qādiri, Qādiri. (?)
 Thou hast transformed thyself completely into thy Beloved.

3

شناخت خود

هر که خود را باخت او را برد	هر که این را شناخت گویا برد
ساقی باده و سبورا برد	هر که پائی خمی گرفت و نشست
رفت و در خاک آرزو را برد	وان که زین سر نیافت آگاهى
رفت و نا خویش جستجو را برد	وان که در خویشتن نجست او را
خود نکوبود، کان نکو را برد	قادری یار خویشی در خود یافت

REALISATION OF THE SELF

Whosoever recognised this, carried the day,
 He who lost himself, found Him.
 He who sat at the foot of the wine jar,
 Won over the Sāqī, the wine and the cup.
 And he who sought him not within his own self,
 Passed away, carrying his quest along with him.
 And he who knew not this secret,
 When turned to dust, carried his desire unfulfilled
 Qādiri found his Beloved within his own self :
 Himself of good disposition, he won (the favour of) the Good.

SELECTED VERSES

۱) عاشق یار خویش جمله جهان	۱) اے حوش آنکس که یار عاشق اوست
۲) یار سیار بود بازیگر	۲) قادری را برد در بازی
۳) از عشق جذبه خواهی قادری که آخر	۳) هستی تو برآرد هستی او نماید
۴) ترک زنا کرده ام زان رو	۴) تار و حدت نبود در زنا
۵) قادری دید نا مرا در کل	۵) صلح کل کرده از عناد گذشت
۶) تا خودی هست دائم اندوه اسب	۶) این چنین کرده استاد ارشاد
۷) راز خود را به غیر دل تو مگوی	۷) راز داری بغیر دل نبود
۸) هر خمی پیچی که شد از تاب زلف یار شد	۸) دام شد، تسبیح شد، زنجیر شد، زنا شد
۹) بادوست رسیدیم چو از خویش گد شتم	۹) از خویشی گذشتن چه مبارک فری بود!

II. QUATRAINS

Now we place before the readers some specimens of the Quatrains of Dārā Shikoh, collected for the first time from the works of the author and translated into English.

[In the case of each Rubā'ī, the source is given in the footnote. In no case is a quatrain of doubtful origin included in this collection ; in order to establish the authenticity beyond any doubt, wherever it has been possible, a reference to the original context is also indicated in the footnote.

Abbreviations used for the different editions or MSS. of the works of the author - are as follows :—

- H.M. *Hasanāt-ul-‘Ārifīn*, Mujtabā'ī edition.
 HLU. " " Lahore Urdu lithograph.
 HPA. " " MS. (No. PC IV 5) in the Arabic Section of Punjab University library.
 SL. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, Lahore Urdu lithograph.
 RHNA. *Risālā Ḥaq Numa*, Panini Office, Allahabad.
 RHNL. " " Lucknow edition.
 MB. *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, Bib. Ind.
 IJB. *Iksir-i-A'zam*, (Selections in the *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. V., No. 1. 1939).

i

یک دره ندیدیم زخورسید جدا هر قطره آب هست عین دریا
 حق را بچه نام کس تواند خواندن ؟ هر نام که هست ، هست از اسماء خدا 1

We have not seen an atom separate from the Sun,
 Every drop of water is the sea in itself.
 With what name should one call the Truth ?
 —Every name that exists is one of God's names.

ii

آنا نکه خدا در آن زمان می بینند اول تودان، در این جهان می بینند
 دیدار خدا در این و آن یکسان است هر لحظه به ظاهر و نهان می بینند 2

Those who visualise God in the hereafter,
 Thou shouldst know, first behold Him in this world.
 The Vision of God is uniform in both the worlds—
 Every moment they behold Him in the open and in secret.

1. *Hasanāt-ul-‘Ārifīn* (Mujtabā'ī Press, Delhi), p. 30: چندین سال خدمت ایشان (شیخ فرید)
 کردم و هر چند نام ایشان را پرسیدم نام خود را نگفتند . فرمودند که همه نامها نام منست و فقیر را مای نمی باشد
 اندر این معنی گفته ام : رباهی :
 2. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, (Urdu lithograph, Lahore), p. 61.

iii

تسبیح بن عجب در آمد بزبان ! گفته که مرا چرا کنی سرگردان ؟
گردل به عوض همی بگردانی تو دانی که برائی چیست خلق انسان ¹

The rosary spoke to me in a strange tongue !

It said, " Why dost thou make my head reel ?

" Wert thou to attend (revolve) to thine own heart instead,

Thou wouldst know the object underlying man's creation."

iv

کافر گفتی تو از یی آزارم این حرف ترا راست همی یندارم
پستی و بلندی همه شد هموارم مذهب هفتاد و دو ملت دارم ²

To revile me thou hast termed me an " infidel."

I, too, consider thy talk as true.

Disgrace (declivity) and glory (ascent) have become alike to me—

My religion is that of the two and seventy sects (of Islām).

v

توحید خموشی است و فکر است مدام بخت آمد و شد زدست توحید تمام
یک گفتن تو عین دوئی ثابت کرد توحید رود ز نقطه چون گیری نام ³

In silence and meditation consists the Unity of God ;

Discussion entails the departure of Unity.

When thou sayest : (God is) One ; duality is clearly established :

The Unity of God goes off the point when thou proclaimest it.

vi

او در نظر است رو بهر چیز کنی کوری ، نوچرا بخویش تجویز کنی
حق گفت چو اینا بولوا باتو باید که نظر به سوی خود نیز کنی ⁴

To whatsoever object thou mayest turn thy face, He is in view.

Art thou blind, for why dost thou assign Him to thyself ?

Since God hath said : " In whatever direction thou mayest turn."

It is incumbent on thee to turn thine eyes upon thine own self.

1. *Sakīnat-ul-Awliyā*, p. 53.

2. H.M., p. 14 :

هابس بن یوسف الشکلی قدس سره گوید هر که بخدا مشغولست از ایمان او نباید پرسید و اندر این معنی گفته ام
این حرف ترا دوست نمی یندارم HPA. (fol. 31b) reads line 2 :

3. HM, p. 11 : شیخ ابوالعباس قدس سره گفت : علامت حقیقت توحید فراموش کردن توحید است
اندر این معنی گفتم :

HPA. (fol. 25a) reads line 2 : عارف فارغ آمد ز گفتار و کلام ; line 1, omits'.

HLU., p. 18 reads line 4 : يك گفتن تو بین قوی ثابت کرد

4. HM., p. 21 ; HPA (fol. 52a) شیخ ملا سعد الدین کا شرفی قدس سره گفت حاضر باشید یاران
که یار عین بین است یعنی مشاهده و معائنه نیست غیبت است و اندر این معنی گفتم :

Line 1 : (Qur'ān I, 109) : " To whosoever ye turn, there is the face of Allāh."

vii

ار اصل حقیقت چو خبر دار شدی در حضرت حق محرم اسرار شدی
چون فاعل خیر و شر خدا را دیدی دیدی گنه از خوینسی و گنهگار شدی¹

When thou knowest the reality of the Truth,
Thou wilt know the secrets in the August Presence.
Since thou hast seen God as the doer of both good and evil,
Thou hast seen thine own sins and turned into a sinner.

viii

هر چند که نیست سایه از ذات خدا لیکن نبود سایه نه غیر نما
دائم جو بگویند مرا سایه حق ، ترسم که ازین دوی بد آید حق را²

Although there is no shadow of God's essence,
Yet (the title of king as) Shadow of God does not show anyone else.
I know this, when they call me "the Shadow of God ;"
But I fear that this duality may not find favour with God.

ix

عارف بخود اطلاق خدائی نکند از ذات لطیف خود جدائی نکند
گر بنده کسی بود ، خدا او باشد چون جمله خداست خود نمائی نکند³

Never would a Gnostic attribute Godhead to his own self,
Never would he suffer separation from the Subtle Self.
For to become a slave is to become a master :
Since all is God, he would not act in vanity.

x

اے آنکه خدائی را بجوئی هر جا تو عین خدائی نه جدائی ز خدا
این جستن نوهمین نان می ماند فطره بمیان آب و جوید دریا⁴

O, thou, who seekest God everywhere,
Thou verily art the God and not separate from Him.
Already in the midst of a boundless ocean
Thy quest resembles the search of a drop for the ocean !

1. HPA., (fol. 19b) رباعی : باحد اشريك گرفت و اندر این معنی گفته ام : رباعی
HM., p. 11., line 2 : از یار بدان همه که هشیار شدی ; HPA., line 4 : omitted.

2. IJB., p. 171.

3. HM., p. 14 ; HLU., p. 26 : شیخ الاسلام فرموده که من بلد تر از این منصور میگویم ، یعنی این منصور
HPA., omits this quatrain. حق را محس در خود میدانست و من همه را حق می یم . اندر این معنی گفتم :

4. RHNA., p. 26-27. ; RHNL., p. 30, line 1 ز خدا for خدا

xi

عارف دل و جان تو مزین سازد خاری که کند بجاش گلشن سازد
کامل همه را ز نقص بیرون آرد یک سمع هزار سمع روشن سازد¹

The Gnostic endows you with illumination—body and soul,
A barren thorny mound he transforms into a rose garden.

The Perfect leads you out of the erroneous Path—
A candle illuminates a thousand candles !

xii

یک دم از وی جدا بنشین نو ساعتی بی خدا بنشین تو
نرک با حق نشستن است همه وقت خود بخود آشنا بنشین نو²

Sit for a while in separation from Him,
Remain for a while Godless.

Verily, even association with the Truth constitutes polytheism :
Thou shouldst sit in complete recognition with thy own self !

xiii

خویشتن را جدا نمی دانم لیک خود را خدا نمی دانم
قطره را نسبتی که با بحر است بیشتر زین روا نمی دانم³

I do not think myself separate from Him ;
Nevertheless, I do not consider myself God.

Whatever relation the drop bears to the ocean,
That I hold true in my belief and nothing beyond that.

xiv

بیرون و درون کوزه پر بود هوا پیچید درون کوزه آواز و صدا
کوزه بشکست و گشت آواز آواز بشکست حباب و گشت عین دریا⁴

The air filled the clay-pot, from within and without,
Sound and noise vibrated from within it.

When the clay-pot gets broken, the sound becomes the Psychic sound—
Like the bubble which bursts and becomes the very ocean.

... مرشد چهارم مثل چراغ که آنرا مرشد کامل گویند که از يك چراغ صد هزار چراغ روشن شود. در این معنی گفته ام :

HLU., p. 44., HPA., (fol 22 ab), line 2 : بجاش for بجاش ; also *Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* reads بجاش for بجاش

2. HM., p. 8 : سید الطائفة گفت تصوف آنست که ساعتی بشینی بی نیاز. شیخ الاسلام گفت بی تیمار چه بود ؟ گفت یافت بی جستن و دیدار بی نگر بستن که یبند در دیدار علت است. رباعی :

3. IJB., p. 159.

4. HM., p. 25 ; HMLU., p. 45. line 2 : پیچید درون کوزه و آواز و صدا هوا و آتش آتش .

xv

کرده ز یگانگی دویی را تا راج باید که کنی کجی خود را تو علاج
واحد متکسر نشود از اعداد دریا متجزی نشود از اسواج 1

He hath destroyed duality with Unity,
Thou shouldst treat thy blind perversity (if thou seest it not).
The Unity does not become manifold through numerousness :
As the waves do not cause the ocean to be split up into parts.

xvi

خوش گرچه بیادخودنشستن همه وقت این قیدچه لازم اس بر من همه وقت؟
غافل شدن خلق ز حق از حق است خود را تعب است یاد کردن همه وقت 2

Pleasant though it is to sit ever in meditation,
Yet why should this limitation be ever indispensable to me ?
Forgetfulness of God by men is ordained by God :
For me it is a torment to remember ever !

xvii

هرگز نکند آب حجاب اندر یخ با آنکه کند نقش حباب اندر یخ
حق بحر حقیقت است و کونین درو چون یخ بمان آب و آب اندر یخ 3

The water can never veil the face of ice,
Though a bubble might form an impression within the ice ;
The Truth is like the ocean of reality, wherein abide both the worlds,
Like the water within the ice and the ice within the water.

xviii

هیچ کسی مرا نباید سنجید من ز آنچه گفته ام نباید رنجید
هر چند که چار بچه زاید بلبل بلبل بچه کلان به بلبل گردیده 4

None should evaluate me (by my sayings),
Nor should anyone take offence at what I have said.
Although the nightingale produces four young ones,
The first-born turns out to be a nightingale.

1. RHNA., p. 25

2. HLU., p. 15; HM. p. 10, HPA. fol. 18b.: وی (ابوبکر واسطی) فرمود که غفلت ذا کران از عوام الناس بیشتر است یعنی ذا کران بسبب اسم و ذکر از مذکور غافل گشته اند و عمت عوام یاد نکردند حقیقت خود را. در این معنی گفته ام :

3. RHNA., p. 23.

4. IJB., p. 171. This quatrain, expressing Dārā Shikoh's conception of his superiority over his brother is strange indeed !

xix

خواهی که سوی داخل ارباب نظر ؟ از قال به حال بایدت کرد گذر
از گفتی توحید، موحد نسوی سرین نشود دهان ز نام شکر 1

Dost thou wish to enter the circle of men of illumination ?
Then cease talking and be in the "state";

By professing the Unity of God, thou canst not become a monotheist,
As the tongue cannot taste sugar by only uttering its name.

xx

نیست بی چاره هیچ کار درست نیست چیزی چو چار یار درست
هر بختی منی همی باید یایه چار استوار درسته 2

No work is accomplished thoroughly without (Divine) help,
Nothing is as perfect as the four Companions of the Prophet ;
The necessary requisites for my fortune
Are the four pillars, strong and sound.

xxi

گویم سخنی ز روی تحقیق و صواب گر مرد رمی، قبول کن، روی مآب
هرگز نبود صفات بر ذات حجاب کی نقش بر آب مایی ست از مس آب 3

In certainty and for thy benefit I tell thee—
If thou art a man of the Path, accept it and turn not thy face away :
Attributes can never conceal the Essence
How can the figure on water stand in the way of its being touched ?

xxii

همی و وجود خودم کردم رد گردید مساویم همه نیک و بد
اکنون نتوان نام خود و نامش برد گر نام بگیرم ز من او می رنجده 4

My life and existence, I have discarded,
Goodness and evil have become all alike to me :
Now I cannot utter my name or His name,
If I chose any name, He would be displeased with me.

1. HM., p. 16 ابو صالح (د مشقی) گفته توحید را از عنایت در میتوان یافت نه از روی علم - یعنی گفتن چیزی دیگر است و شدن چیزی دیگر و اندر این معنی گفته‌ام.

دهان for زبان : HPA, (fol. 36b), line 4:

2 IJB, p. 167

3. RHNA, p. 25.

4. HM., p. 28. ملاخواج که از مریدان شیخ میراست نقل کرد. دوم، 'الله گفتن در وقت مردن از قصی است. یعنی نام گرفتن و ذکر کردن از غفلت است. در این معنی گفته‌ام

HPA. (fol. 165b), of هستی و وجود خودم for هستی وجود خویش : HM., line 1:

xxiii

نوحید گویم ار بفهمی به ادا موجود نبود هیچ گاه غیر خدا
آنها که تومی بینی و می دانی غیر در ذات یکیست و در نام جدا¹

I tell thee the secret of Tawhīd, if thou wert to understand it aright,
Nowhere exists anything but God,
All you see or know other than Him
Is separate in name, but in essence one with God.

xxiv

بیمرگ کجا نام نوگردد زنده ؟ بی بنده کجا است صاحب زینده ؟
از فید شاد وجود مطلق ظاهر صاحب نبود اگر نباشد بنده²

Without death how can thy name live long ?
Without the serf where stands the comely lord ?
The relativity maketh the Absolute Self manifest :
Without a slave there would not be any master.

xxv

هرچند نقاب در میان دارد یار رویش خوس و خوب می نماید بسیار
چون عینک موبود نقاب رخ یار عنک نکند به بیش چشم توغبار³

Though the Beloved may have a veil intervening,
His face appears most pleasant and beautiful.
Since thy spectacles are the veil on the face of the Beloved,
(Beware) that it may not raise a cloud of mist before thine eyes !

xxvi

دریاست وجود صرف ذات وهاب ارواح و نقوس همچو نقس اندر آب
بحریست که موج می زند اندر خود گه قطره ، گه است موج ، گه سب حبابه

Like an ocean is the essence of the Supreme Self,
Like forms in water are all souls and objects.
The ocean, heaving and stirring within,
Transforms itself into drops, waves, and bubbles.

1. RHNA., p. 24.

2. HM., p. 18., HPA. (fol. 42b). ابو مومن گوید که عادت را سریت که اگر ظاهر شود باطل می گردد
یعنی همان سر عبودیت را رویت است و اندر این معنی گفته ام .

3. RHNA., p. 27.

4. RHNA., p. 24.

xxvii

کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید ؟ قلب تو در اعتبار حق می آید ؟
باید که نوعن خویش دای حق را فانی شدن چه کار حق می آید ؟¹

How can thy work gain approval from the Truth
(How can) thy mind receive recognition at the hands of God ?
Thou shouldst consider thy own self as the Truth,
Of what use is thy annihilation in the cause of the Truth ?

xxviii

هرچند که خلق را گر فیه کولی غفلت شده اسب بر همه مستولی
مستول بجای اسب بفهمد یا نه هرکس که بهر چیز شده مستغولی²

In what abundance may stupidity have gripped mankind
And heedlessness have overpowered them all .
Every one who is occupied with anything,
Whether he realises it or not, is occupied with the Truth.

xxix

از سرگ بباد اهل دل را آزار کز خواب نترسد چو بود دل بیدار
گر جان تو حسم را بیند اخت چه شد ؟ چون کهنه سود پوست بپندارد مار³

Men of heart are not aggrieved at Death's approach,
For a wakeful mind fears not slumber ;
If thy soul cast away the body, what does it matter
When the skin wears out, the snake casts it away.

xxx

نوحید سناخ ، هر کرا حالی نیست ، در راه طلب هم او عالی نیست
خوس آنکه میان خویش حق را شناخت ، او در همه جاست هیچ جا خالی نیست⁴

He realizes the unity, who has no 'state.'
Even in the path of quest, this intuition is not great.
Happy is he, who found Him within his own self,
—He is omnipresent, no place is without Him.

1. شیخ عبدالله بلای قدس سره گفت پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود - من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه هر که خود را شناخت خدا را شناخت و فرموده که خود را فنا کرده خدا را یافت پنی عرفان شناخت خود است به فای خود. اندر این معنی گفته ام :

2. کی کار تو در شمار حق می آید (HPA., 9 fol 47a) Line 2.

3. شطح شیخ عبدالله حیف رحمه الله - از روی پر سید بد که تصوف چیست - گفت غفلت راهم وجود الله داستان - اندر این معنی گفته ام :

4. شطح شیخ فرید و اندر این معنی گفته ام : (HM., p. 32. line 2 : for وز :

وشیح (ابن العربی) فرماید که جادات و حیوانات و انسان همه عارف اند و از آیه کریمه - (HM., p. 10; HPA (43b) : و ان من شی الا یسج بحمده نیز مفهوم معلوم میشود که همه اشیا معرفت دارند و این سر بر غیر عارف ظاهر است و اندر این معنی گفته ام :

xxx1

ز ابلیس به و البتہ رجہ انکار رسد حق گفت حسین ، بر سر دار رسد
از شومی سر نفس ملایان است با هر نی و ولی کہ آزار رسد¹

What disavowals did Satan hurl at Adam?
Said Ḥusain (Manṣūr Ḥallāj) " (I am) the Truth," and got the gallows.
Every prophet and saint, who suffered affliction and torments,
(It was) due to the vicious and ignominious conduct of the Mullās.

xxxii

هر دم برسد عارفان دوفی حادید خود مجتهد اندنی زا اهل تقلید
سیران نخورند جر سکار خود را رویاوار حورد فنادہ نجم قدید²

Every moment, the Gnostics are recipients of new Love,
They are leaders in themselves, not those who follow others.
The lions would not partake of aught, except what they have killed
themselves.
The fox feeds upon the leavings of dry flesh.

xxxiii

هر کار کہ مشکل است درویش کند مرهم می نہد (?) کہ او را ریس کند
واصل جو نبود بصرفشی افراند سمسر برهنہ کار را پیش کند³

The Dervish performs every task that is difficult,
With his breath he applies balm, which injures him (?)
When he attains union with God, he wields powers more potent,
—An unsheathed sword is more effective in its work!

xxxiv

در ہجر نو وودہ اندودہ و آزارم از وصل تو رفت ہستی و نندارم
سادہ آمد نصیب جانم گردید اکنون بن و جان خود بہ راحت دارم⁴

In separation from thee, I have suffered pangs of anxiety,
In union with thee, I have lost my own consciousness:
Then happiness dawned upon my soul and became my lot,
Now shall I pass my days in peace, both in body and mind.

1 Ibid p 18 امام غزالی در راحت العلوم از مصی عرفا نقل کردہ می گفتند کہ سب یہاں شدن ابدال از چشم اکثر مردم است کہ ابدال را طاقت دیدن علمائی وقت نیست۔ رائی آنکہ این علماء در نفس الامر جاہلان اند برد خود و نزد جاہلان علماء اند و اندر این معنی گفتہ ام:

HPA., (44a): lines 1 & 2 interchanged

2. HM., p. 18: پیش ابو مدین (مغربی) از اکابر صوفیہ مذکور کردند۔ گفت ما قدید می خوریم و پیروی۔ کسی کار نداریم و ہمیشہ رزق ما تا ازہ است و عدای ما لم طری یعنی گزشت تازہ۔ اندر این معنی گفتہ ام:

HPA., (42a) line 1. لحم قدید for لحم و قدید 4: line 4. ذوق جدید for رزق جدید۔

3 SL., p. 72, line 3 مرهم بدی کند کہ او را ریش کند (?) 20: line 20. چو و اصل شود

4. SL., p 117.

xxxv

ای که از نام توئی نارد عشق ورنامه و بیعام بوئی نارد عشق
عاشق گردد هر که بکویب گذرد آری ر در نام دوی نارد عشق¹

O Thou, from whose very name raineth Love,
And from the epistle and message of Thine raineth Love ;
Whosoever passeth by Thy street, realises
Indeed that from the very door to the terrace of Thine (house) raineth
Love.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASTRONOMICAL AND MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY¹

THE Muslim contribution to Geography has, generally speaking, been chiefly studied in the West, both by orientalists and by some students of astronomy and mathematics. However, the chief deterrent to a greater appreciation and fuller recognition of the extent of the Muslim share in such scientific knowledge lies in the facts that, firstly, a large number of invaluable works referred to in extant sources have been entirely lost,² and secondly, much of the available material has not been properly approached and investigated. Nevertheless we are greatly indebted to some scholars, including those of the West, for their labours in presenting to the world the achievements of Muslim savants of yore. Here an attempt has been made to provide an outline of the work done which has a direct bearing on purely geographical matters, i.e., the chronological order of the workers in the field, ideas about latitudes and longitudes and the shape and size of the earth with its movements, results of measurements connected therewith, famous observatories, and the uses of instruments, etc.

It has been said that "the Arabs are before all else the pupils of the Greeks; their science is a continuation of the Greek science, which it preserves, cultivates, and on a number of important points develops and perfects."³ Nobody can deny that this is precisely how the edifice of science and culture has been built up from the past to the present. But it would not be wholly true to say that the birth of Muslim geographical science was entirely dependent upon familiarity with Greek sciences,⁴ because there had already appeared no less than about five writers who dealt with the geography, historiography, and archæology of Arabia, i.e., Abū-Ziyād al-Kilābī, an-Naḍar b. Shāmil (d. 204 A.H.), Hishām al-

1. Another contribution by the author, *Muslim Contribution to Geography during the Middle Ages*, has appeared in *Islamic Culture* for July 1943. The present contribution is in continuation of the former paper.

2. For example, Jurjī Zaidān 'Ulūm-al-Arab, pp. 236-37 estimates that of a total of about six million books in the various libraries of the eastern and the western lands of Islam, only about thirty thousand have survived the ravages of time.

3. Arnold and Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 376.

4. Maulānā S. Nadwī, 'Ilm al-Jughrāfiya al-Arab, ad-Ḍiā, Sept. 1932.

Kalbī (206 A.H.), Sa'dān b. al-Mubārak, and Abū-Sa'īd al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213 A.H.).

In the ultimate analysis we find that, speaking historically, the Greeks largely contributed to the culture of the mind and the beginning of science and the Romans were made for conquest and created vast dominions, while the Muslims took up both the tasks; on the one hand they established a great empire with its machinery of law and order and good government, and on the other they built up the edifice of their culture upon the lessons drawn from the wisdom of India, Irān, Chaldea, Greece, and Rome. One thing should be remembered in this connection; with the spread of the wave of Islamic conquest the supremacy of the Arabic language over all other national languages came to be established, and, in addition, this homogeneity of the medium of expression and to a large extent of religious belief led to the growth of a common culture, in the midst of which grew up the learned of all nationalities and sects. Thus, a large number of savants and intellectuals were 'Arab' by language not by nationality, and above all they bore the stamp of Muslim culture.

The Muslim contributions to the astronomical and the mathematical side of geography were a part of broader intellectual and scientific movement which commenced with the Abbasid age. Its growth and development can best be followed in relation to the four chief schools, i.e., those of Baghdad, Egypt, North Africa, and Andalusia. In addition, after the decline of the central authority of the Caliphate at Baghdad, these scientific traditions were followed in the east, first at the court of the new provincial dynasties (particularly the Buwaihids and the Ghaznavids), and later under the newborn intellectual zeal of some of the Mongol princes.

THE BAGHDAD SCHOOL

ON the culmination of the age of conquest the Muslims had become masters of many of those territories which had served in the past as the cradles of civilization and culture—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt; while the conquest of Syria and Palestine early brought them into contact with the Nestorians who had been exiled from the Roman lands on account of their 'heresy.' Thus, Greek knowledge and ideas were available to the Muslim world at an opportune moment when conquest and expansion were giving place to peace and culture. Simultaneously the arm of Islamic expansion had reached the border-lands of Indian culture, and there is evidence of considerable contact with the cultural trends beyond the Indus in the comings and goings of embassies and the visits of learned individuals. From India came two works of special importance from our point of view, the *Brahma-sphuta-Sidhanta* (better known to the Arab world as *Sind-Hind*) and *Khanda-Khadyaka* (known as *Arkand* آرکند).¹ An Indian astronomer and mathematician, Brahmagupta, had composed

¹ Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics*, pt. I, p. 83

both these works towards 628 A.D. and they were brought to Baghdad in 154 A.H./771 A.D. Indian scholars helped in the translation of these works by Alfazārī and Ya'qūb Ibn Ṭāriq. A later influx of Hindu learning in the same direction was the intellectual influence exercised by the ministerial Barmak family, under Hārūn ar-Rashīd. The Iranian sources also did not go unnoticed and the famous Pahlavi Tables (*Zij ash-Shahryār*—royal astronomical tables) compiled during the last days of the Sassanids, were translated from Persian by Abul-Ḥasan. In the sense of time the Iranian and the Indian influences were earlier than those of Greek origin. Alfazārī's *Kitāb az-Zij* (tables), compiled in the second half of the 8th century A.D., reflects Indian influence, and the 'Cupola' of the earth is spoken of as 'Arīn,' which according to Kramers is a false reading of Ujjaini (Ujjain) and points to this early contact.¹

However, with the advent of al-Māmūn the real scientific age of Islamic culture begins. In the intellectual sense the many-sided influences had already penetrated deep into Muslim society. Then, above all, the weight of Māmūn's personality and liberal patronage of learning was harnessed to the advancement of science along with that of all branches of learning. The great Translation Bureau *بيت الحكمة* had already been established under Hārūn ar-Rashīd, where were employed learned translators of all nationalities and creeds—Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Muslims.² Books and extant material were collected by Māmūn from all countries regardless of cost, and translators were paid the weight of books in gold.³ The liberality of this enlightened prince in the promotion of knowledge was remarkable indeed. He is said to have asked the Byzantine emperor to send the savant Leo to Baghdad in return for five tons of gold and an offer of permanent peace between the parties.⁴ Among the translators employed at the 'Bait-ul-Hikmat' four were outstanding: Ya'qūb al-Kindī, Husain b. Ishāq, Thābit b. Qurra, and al-Batriq. There were also two well-known Hindu translators, Mankah and Ibn-Dahan (also Doban), who knew Arabic.

The majority of Arabic geographical authors based their work more or less on the *Almagest* *المجسطى* and the Geography of Ptolemy. The first translation of the *Almagest* by Nairizī was of great consequence. Since Ptolemy himself had given a mathematical and an astronomical bias to his labours, his admirers followed the tradition. Therefore the work of the astronomers, as far as it has bearings on Geography, is also to be taken into consideration, if we are to grasp the full meaning of Muslim contributions. Thus an outline of their work has been provided.⁵

1. *Encyclop. Islam*, sup. No. 1, p. 63.

2. Shibli, *Al-Māmūn*, p. 164.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

5. *The History of Arab Mathematics*, by Dr 'Atāul-Hakīm, Professor of Mathematics, Islamia College, Calcutta, which has been accepted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Calcutta, and *L'Histoire des Arabes*, by Sedillot, chap. IV, have been consulted for much useful information.

The first series of regular observations with accurate instruments were conducted at Jundishāpūr (S.W. Persia) during the first half of the 9th century, and were utilised by Ahmad an-Nahāwandī and resulted in the preparation of his 'general tables' (az-Zij al-Mushtamil) 803 A.D. But with the systematic work of translation in the reign of Māmūn and the establishment of observatories at Baghdad and Damascus begins the real work on geographical matters. The great caliph was not satisfied with the progress made by the Translation Bureau, and he allotted much greater resources to it and gathered together all the known workers in the scientific field.

Ya'qūb al-Kindī, who knew many languages and has written no less than 282 books, was the next noted translator of Greek works. The astronomers and mathematicians embodied their labours in the so-called 'Verified Tables' (az-Zij al-Mā'mūniy al-Mumtaḥan) which were prepared among others by Yaḥyā b. abi Maṣṣūr, Sind b. 'Alī and Khālid b. 'Abdul-Mālik al-Marvarūzī. These tables do not exist in their original form. The measurement of a degree of latitude entailed difficult geodetic operations,¹ but this was done with a remarkable approach to accuracy in about latitude 36° N, as a result of simultaneous observations between Tadmur (Palmyra) and Raqqa, the result being a little more than the actual, i.e., by 2877 feet.² Other findings in the verified tables relate to the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of equinoxes, and the length of the solar year, etc. Among these early astronomers was also Māshā' Allāh son of Athārī or Sariya (b. 112 A.H./730 A.D. d. 200 A.H./815 A.D.), who made his own instruments and took careful observations. Khwārizmī had prepared an abridgement of *Sind-Hind*, and al-Kindī who was well versed in Greek did much useful scientific work relating to interpretations of the Alexanderian school. Another notable figure was Abū-Ma'shar (Ja'far b. Maḥammad b. 'Umar), a native of Balkh, who is known to Europe as Albumasar. He was a student of al-Kindī and died at Wāsiṭ at the ripe old age of a hundred years (272 A.H./886 A.D.). Europe mostly knows him as an astrologer and there has grown up a tendency to belittle his astronomical work. But his tables (*Zij Abū-Ma'shar*) deserve a high place. He was specially interested in celestial phenomena. Al-Māhānī studied the eclipses of the sun and the moon and the conjunction of the

1 The method undertaken will be described fully in its proper place in the section dealing with measurements.

2 Nallino, *Encyclp. Islam*, Vol. I. p. 498.

This statement refers to the result discussed on page 183, line 36 of this article, where it is stated "but adopted the larger of the two values viz. 56½ miles." It should be noted that by the word mile here is meant the Arabian mile, not the English 1 Arabian mile = 6472.4 English feet. The circumference of the earth equal to 20400 miles mentioned in this paper is also reckoned in Arabian miles. Its value in English miles would be 24847.2. Taking the degree of latitude near the equator as equal to 68.7 miles (English), the circumference comes out as nearly 24732 miles. See a discussion on this subject in *Hyderabad Academy Studies*, No. 3, p. 108. (article by Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khan, entitled "Need for better Co-operation between Oriental Scientists and Arabic Scholars."—Ed.

planets, etc., about the year 854-68 A.D., but unfortunately his works are not to be found beyond scattered references here and there.¹

The labours of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir, viz., Muḥammad, Aḥmad, and Ḥasan, occupy an important place among the works of the school of Baghdad. From 850 to 870 A.D. they were engaged in the metropolis taking observations from their State-patronised observatory at Bāb at-Tāq (the Tāq-gate) on the Tigris. Their tables were greatly relied upon by Ibn-Yūnus. Al-Baṭṭānī did his work at Raqqā from 877 to 918 A.D. and died in 929 A.D. Sedillot² thinks that European writers have attached undue importance to his works owing to their ignorance of the contributions of his predecessors. He says that Baṭṭānī played the same role among the Arabs as Ptolemy did among the Greeks, as both produced the sum-total of knowledge acquired till their time. Baṭṭānī's tables have been entirely lost and the Latin versions are full of mistakes. Thābit b. Qurra (d. 288 A.H./813 A.D.), a Christian savant at the Court of Baghdad, translated the *Almagest* afresh. Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib worked at Baghdad about 300 A.H./912 A.D.

With the weakening of the authority of the Abbasid caliphs onwards, much of the work of these astronomer-geographers centres round the Buwaihid Court, and in this connection the name of Ibn al-'Ālam (d. 375 A.H./988 A.D.) is of note as the author of 'tables' based upon independent observations relating to the determination of the precession of equinoxes in an exact manner with the help of self-made instruments. But there is no trace of his work. He is reputed to be a teacher of 'Aḍad-ud-Dawla. 'Abdur-Rahmān aṣ-Ṣūfī (d. 376 A.H./986 A.D.), the famous author of *aṣ-Ṣuwar al-Kawākib ath-Thābita* and writer of a book on the astrolabe, Abul-Qāsim, 'Abdullāh al-Colūzī, and Ja'far were among the contemporaries of Ibn al-'Ālam. Ar-Rāzī (Abū-Muḥammad b. Zakariya, 840-902 A.D.), the famous Rhazes of the west, wrote on the form of the earth (*Kitāb Hai'at-al-'Ālam*) and contributed a treatise on the setting of the sun and planets (*Risālat fi-Gurūb ish Shāms-wal-Kawākib*). He was born at Rayy and worked at Baghdad. The Buwaihid court in the days of 'Aḍad-ud-Dawla and Sharaf-ad-Dawla was surrounded by a galaxy of astronomers, mathematicians, and other savants. Among the rest, three more names figure prominently for their contributions on geographical matters. Al-Kūhī (Abū Sahal al-Waighān b. Rustam d. 1004 A.D.) was the designer of many instruments and the founder of the observatory at Baghdad under Sharaf ad-Dawla. Kūhī's works are lost, although he is credited with the observation of the summer solstice and of an autumnal equinox.³ Abul-Wafā (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ismā'il b. 'Abbās) was born in Buzjān in Khurāsān between Herat and Nishapur in 995 A.D. and died 998 A.D. He observed the obliquity of

1. The *Hākimite Tables* of Ibn-Yūnus.

2. *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

3. *Ibid*.

the ecliptic in 995 A.D. and prepared his 'tables' (*Zīj Shāmī*). It is said that he was struck by the imperfection of the lunar theory of Ptolemy and on verification pointed out a third inequality which was no other than the one that was discovered by Tycho Brahe six hundred years later.¹ Abū-Muḥammad al-Khujandī in 992 A.D. made and used his own instruments. Hārūn b. 'Alī, maker of astronomical instruments, and his new 'tables' and Abū-Ishāq are other names that shed glory on the achievements of the Baghdad school.

About this time the ever-increasing chaotic political conditions and the waning prestige of the caliphs brought to an end this great scientific activity at the metropolis. The most important feature, however, of the Baghdad school was the truly scientific spirit which had been the guiding principle of all its workers. These savants always worked from the known to the unknown, and experiment and demonstration were the foundations of their system.

EGYPT

By the end of the 10th century Egypt had already broken loose from the caliphate of Baghdad, and its capital was destined to become a new centre of scientific activity. The reigns of al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim were the golden age of this school. Al-'Azīz (375/996 A.D.) founded the observatory at Cairo and rich endowments were allotted to it by al-Ḥākim also. The outstanding work was that of Ibn-Yūnus (Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi-Sa'id 'Abdur-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Yūnus), who died in 399 A.H./1009 A.D. He made a series of observations at his observatory on Mount al-Muqāṭṭam from 367 A.H./977 A.D. to 389 A.H./1007 A.D. Ibn-Yūnus was certainly a worthy successor of Abul-Wafā' and also relied greatly upon the labours of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir. As a result of his careful observations and measurements he produced the famous Ḥākimite Tables (*az-Zīj al-Ḥākimī*), which succeeded both the *Almagest* and three earlier treatises of the school of Baghdad. Because of their authenticity these tables ultimately found currency in distant lands, such as Persia, Mongol domains, China, and Mediæval Europe. In addition, Ibn-Yūnus was the inventor of the pendulum and also used the gnomon. Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 A.H./1039 A.D.) was another noted mathematician and physicist who did much outstanding work.

Al-Bīrūnī.

In point of time as well as from the view-point of far-reaching significance in the advancement of all aspects of geographical knowledge, stands out at this stage the dominating figure of Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī. He is certainly one of the greatest intellectuals of all times.

¹ Sedillot, *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

Much of his geographical work has already been discussed,¹ and here only an outline of his contributions to the astronomical and the mathematical side of the subject will be provided. He combined in himself the understanding of all aspects of geographical thought and in this respect, above all else, he measured up to the standard of Ptolemy: in many ways he even surpassed the Alexandrian. He possessed the tremendous advantage of being well-versed in several languages, i.e., Greek, Syriac, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit. On his arrival in India with Sultān Maḥmūd, he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Sanskrit with a view to getting access to the best sources of Indian thought, including mathematics, astronomy, and chronology. He studied many Indian works including Brahmagupta's, and among the Arabians all his great predecessors, including Alfazārī, Ya'qūb Ibn-Ṭāriq, Khwārizmī, Kindī, Abū-Ma'shar, and Jaiḥānī. In the opinion of a worthy scholar,² his work represents a scientific renaissance in comparison with the aspirations of the scholars working in Baghdad under the first Abbāsides. Al-Bīrūnī devoted a lifetime to the service of science and learning. According to Yāqūt, there were only two days in the year, Nauroz and Meharjān, when he used to leave off his intellectual pursuits, otherwise his hand never left the pen.³ He himself discussed the attitude of the real scientist in an admirable way in his introduction to *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* القانون المسعودي.⁴ Al-Bīrūnī wrote no less than fifteen books and dissertations on topics like the measurement and determination of latitudes and longitudes, finding of distances and co-ordinates of the Ka'ba. Instruments and their uses were discussed in no less than five booklets giving various methods of constructing astrolabes, etc. In all, he was the author of several dozen books of which a large number dealt with geographical matters. Information about these books is obtained from some of his own great books, viz., *Chronology of Ancient Nations* الآثار الباقية, *Indica* كتاب الهند, and *Canon Masudicus* القانون لمسعودي and from Hājī Khalīfā's كشف الظنون عن أسامي الكتب والفنون (An Encyclopaedia).⁵

Al-Bīrūnī's astronomical and mathematical labours are largely collected in his *Canon Masudicus*, a monumental work written in 1038 A.D. at Ghaznī and dedicated to Sultān Mas'ūd. It still awaits full translation and publication. Besides, he also refers to astronomical, mathematical, and geographical matters in his other works, e.g., *Indica*, كتاب التفهيم لا وائل صناعة, *Kitāb at-Tafhīm* (a sort of introduction to astrology) and the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. In the domain of mathematics his labours are of a

1. In *Islamic Culture*, July, 1943.

2. Sachau, *Al-Bīrūnī's India* (preface, XXVII).

3. *Al-Udaba*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-9.

4. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, p. 232.3; Mu'jam.

5. For details see Barnī's *al-Bīrūnī*, Chap. IV. and Sachau, *Kitāb al-Hind* (Arabic text).

far-reaching character.¹ Certainly al-Bīrūnī can be regarded as one of the greatest geographers of all times. His services to geography were manifold and immense. He much developed the mathematical side of it, carrying on geodetic measurements and determining with a remarkable precision the co-ordinates of a number of places. He introduced a simple method of stereographic projections. In addition, he explained the occurrence of natural springs and artificial wells (artesian) by the laws of hydrostatics.² Geology and mineralogy also did not escape his attention. He discussed the earth, its axis and its movements, and threw much light on the Hindu methods of determining latitudes and longitudes. His contribution to the general geography of India³ was also of a high order.

To this period also belongs a notable contemporary of al-Bīrūnī, Abū-'Alī Sīnā (Abū-'Alī al-Husain b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Husain b. al-'Utā ash-Shaikh ar-Ra'īs Abū-Sīnā) 980 A.D./1036 A.D., known to the west as Avicenna. Along with al-Bīrūnī and others he was among the galaxy of savants at the court of Khwārizm before Sultān Mahmūd's conquest overwhelmed it. He was celebrated for his philosophic discourses as well as for his skill in the practice of medicine, but physics and astronomy were no ordinary pursuits with him. *Tārīkh Hu-kamā* contains a list of forty-one books by him, which included treatises on astronomical instruments (copy of MS. in the Vatican), the place of the earth in the universe, heavenly bodies, and their uses, in answer to questions about the characteristics of the equator. He also wrote a compendium of the *Almagest*.⁴ Ibn-Sīnā's treatise on minerals remained one of the chief sources of geological knowledge in western Europe until the Renaissance.

SPAIN

LIKE the eastern lands of Islam, Spain was also the cradle of this scientific activity, and Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Granada shared the honours from the middle of the 10th century A.D. onwards. Unfortunately many works have been lost, and in many Latin and Spanish works compiled under Alphonso X (1252-1282 A.D.), which are indebted to Muslim sources, either due recognition has not been given or names and subject-matter have been badly distorted.

Maslama al-Majrītī (d. 398 A.H./1007 A.D.) made a synopsis of the tables of al-Battānī which were later made much use of by the authors of the Tables Alphonsine. A very well-known name is that of az-Zarqālī (Arzachel), who lived and worked towards the second half of the 11th

1. Zia-uddin Ahmad, Opening Speech, 12th Math. Conf., Aligarh, Dec. 1941.

2. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I, p. 870.

3. See by the present writer, "Al-Bīrūnī's Geography of India," *The Calcutta Geography Review*, March and Sept. 1943

4. 'Atāul-Hakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*

century A.D. (1029-1088) and was the author of the Toledo Tables. He was also the maker of many instruments, including astrolabes. Latin translations of some of his treatises are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but unfortunately the originals have been lost.¹ Other authorities were Jābir b. Aflāh (Geber) of Seville (d. between 1140-50 A.D.), and Ibn-Rushd (Averroes), d. 1198-9 at Marrakush and born at Cordova 520 A.H. The last named famous philosopher and scientist wrote a book on the motion of the heavens and an epitome of Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Ibn-Bājja (Avempace) d. 553 A.H. 1129 A.D. and al-Bitrūjī (Alpetragius) d. 600 A.H./1204 A.D. are among other Spanish writers on our subject. On the whole the Ptolemaic findings were disputed in Spain and many corrections were attempted.

NORTH AFRICA

THIS part of the world of Islam also did not remain aloof from this universal scientific activity. Tangier, Ceuta, Fez, and Morocco shared in this work and their scholars show an indefatigable ardour. Among them the most celebrated was Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Marrakushī, who produced his astronomical works about 1230 A.D. He travelled from the heart of Spain through a large part of North Africa and discovered the altitude of the pole in forty-one cities.² His book is entitled "*The Beginning and the End*," and has been studied by the eminent scholar, M. J. J. Sedillot.³ He was also the author of a treatise on astronomical instruments. His work has been characterised by an eminent scholar⁴ as "the most important contribution to mathematical geography—not only in Islam but anywhere. . . . It includes among other things the co-ordinates of 135 places, the observation having been made by himself in 34 of them. No mediæval writer has taken equal pains to explain scientific methods and instruments."

PERSIA AND THE EAST

DURING the Saljūq period some useful work was done at the court of the powerful Sultāns. The reign of Jalāl-ad-Dīn Malik Shāh (1072-1092 A.D.) was outstanding; he surrounded himself with notable astronomers and gave his name to the Jalālī era which came about as a result of the reform of the calendar under the guidance of men like 'Umar Khayyām and 'Abdur-Rahmān. Rayy and Nishāpūr were the chief centres of this scientific activity.

Though later the Mongol inundation swept remorselessly over the fair lands of Islam, yet in a short while the victors submitted to the intellec-

1. Sedillot, *L'Histoire des Arabes*.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

tual superiority of the conquered. Hulāgū Khān (d. 1265 A.D.) collected at his court the leading astronomers and mathematicians. The most illustrious among these was Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, the famous author of the *Ilkhānī Tables*. A magnificent observatory was set up at Marāgha, near lake Urmiah in modern North Iran. Aṭ-Ṭūsī collected all the great available works from Khurāsān, Baghdad, Mosul and Syria. At its full height the work lasted for twelve years, and with it were associated many astronomers, including Najam ad-Dīn Qazwīnī, Mu'ayyad ad-Dīn, Muḥī ad-Dīn, Fakhr ad-Dīn and others. Though the tables of Ibn-Yūnus were the basis of the *Ilkhānī Tables*, they were reproduced with many modifications. Aṭ-Ṭūsī's pupil Quṭb ad-Dīn Maḥmūd ash-Shīrāzī continued his work. A suggestion has been made that there were also Chinese scientists working under Naṣīr ad-Dīn, and that may perhaps explain the influence of Muslim scientific thought upon China at this epoch.¹ The last bright phase of the work is associated with the activity in the rising city of Samarqand. Ulugh Beg (796 A.H./1393 A.D.—853 A.H./1449 A.D.), grandson of Timūr, summoned the leading lights—Jamshed al-Kāshī, Qāḍī Zade Rūmī, and Mu'īn ad-Dīn Qāshānī to his court, and the *Tables (Zīj-i-Jadīd Sultānī)*, the preface to which was written by himself, truly represent the last stage in the glorious traditions of the school of Baghdad.

ESTABLISHMENT OF OBSERVATORIES

As would be expected, the collection of such vast scientific data and the production of outstanding treatises were linked up with the establishment of up-to-date and well-equipped observatories, sometimes subsidised by the rulers but often also set up by the nobility and members of the aristocracy for their scientist friends. No sooner had beginnings been made with the cultivation of the sciences, as a result of the cultural contracts with non-Arab elements, than the observatory at Jundi-Shāpūr came into existence in the first half of the 9th century A.D. It was a small town in Khuzistān (S.W. Iran), founded by Shāpūr I, the Sasanian, and later inherited the traditions of scientific work in the days of Anūsharwān (550 A.D.). To-day the site is marked by the ruins of Shahabad. At this observatory worked men like Aḥmad an-Nahāwandī, the compiler of *Zīj-al-Mushtamil* (General Tables, 803 A.D.). The instruments used are said to be very accurate. In the days of al-Māmūn the most celebrated observatory was that of Shamasyā in the plains of Tadmur (Palmyra), established in 216 A.H. Māmūn appointed Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Manṣūr, Khālīd b. 'Abdul-Mālik Marwarūzī, Sind b. 'Alī and 'Abbās b. Sa'īd Joharī and several other mathematicians and astronomers from all the four corners of the realm as directors. Observations were conducted with the help of the latest and most accurate instruments.² There was another

1. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 14.

2. Shibli, *Al-Māmūn*, p. 174 (quoting from *Kashf az-Zanūn*).

State-owned observatory on Mount Qasiyūn, two miles north of Damascus. These and other observation stations were under a board of astronomers¹ headed by Yahyā b. Abī al-Manṣūr, and the data thus collected resulted in the preparation of the famous 'Verified Tables.' A little later, in 235 A.H., ad-Dīnawārī (Abū-Ḥanīfā Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd) built his observatory at Isfahan, where he made observations recorded in his *Kitāb ar-Raṣād*. Then he probably went back to his little home-town (Dīnawār in Persian Iraq) where his observatory was pointed out for several centuries later. Ad-Dīnawārī was also a noted botanist and wrote a scientific book on the subject, *Kitāb an-Nabāt*. He died in 282 A.H./805 A.D.² Reference has already been made to the observatory at Bāb at-Tāq (Tāq Gate) on the Tigris, in Baghdad, where the sons of Mūsā b. Shākīr did such useful work. The Tāq Gate was at the eastern end of the bridge taking the Khurāsān road across the Tigris. It opened directly into the great market-street east of Baghdad from which the chief thoroughfares branched.³ Later, Sharaf ad-Dāwla (988 A.D.) made an observatory at Baghdad which was situated in the garden of his palace. The instruments that were used were made by aṣ-Ṣāghānī, an outstanding instrument-maker of his age. Here worked two noted scientists, al-Kūhī and Ab'ul-Wafā.

Ibn-Yūnus' work was largely carried on at the observatory of al-Muqattam. The observatory was built on the part of the range of hills which lies immediately east of Cairo and reaches a height of about 600 ft. overlooking the Nile. Both al-Ḥākim and al-'Azīz spent large sums of money in equipping and maintaining this observatory.

In the later period, in the east, two observatories attained a wide fame and both were the result of the patronage of science by Mongol princes. Hulāgū Khān fixed his residence at Marāghā, 50 miles from Tabriz as the crow flies. The city was situated in a valley overlooking a fertile plain stretching up to lake Urmiah, nine miles away. On the plans submitted by his Vazīr, Nasīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, he erected a great observatory on a fortified hill west of the town. Today only traces of the foundation walls are to be seen. The observatory was fitted with many instruments. "The rays of the sun were admitted through a perforation in the dome so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement, in such a way as to indicate, in degrees and minutes, the altitude and declination of the sun in every season and to mark the time and hour of the day throughout the year. On a big terrestrial globe were traced the inhabited regions, outlines of the oceans, rivers, lakes, islands, together with the descriptions of climatic conditions and various zones."⁴ Šadr-ud-Dīn 'Alī b. ash-Shujā' is said to have been the superintendent of the observatory and Ṭūsī had appointed four advisers, one of whom was a noted astronomer of the town, Fakhr ad-Dīn. In

1 'Atāul-Hakim, *History of Arab Mathematics*.

2 *Encyclop. of Islam*, Vol I, p 977

3 Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 178.

4 'Atāul-Hakim, *History of Arab Mathematics*

addition to instruments the observatory had a well-equipped library containing about 400,000 books.¹ Lastly, Ulugh Beg built his observatory at Samarqand on the other side of the Kūhī. It was so big and well-equipped that it was regarded as one of the wonders of the world.² Jamshed al-Kāshī was the first superintendent of this observatory. The prince himself was a practical scientist and used the observatory. The Emperor Bābar, in his autobiography, says that he had seen the ruins of the observatory at Samarqand.³ Here was prepared *Zij-i-Jadīd Sulṭānī*.

INSTRUMENTS IN USE

SUCH scientific work, as well as various other measurements and observations, would not have been possible without the use of many instruments of precision. Of course, some of these were earlier inventions, but they had undergone a great deal of improvement. Those which were on the Greek model⁴ were the Astrolabe (Uṣṭurlāb اصطراب), Latercus (al-Libnā)—a square graduated plate for reading the distance between two objects—Annulus or Aquinoctialis (al-Ḥalqat-ul-I'tidāliyyā), which was a graduated circular plate fixed at right-angles to the equatorial circle for reading the declination at the meridian, the triad, the sextant and the clepsydra. To these the Arabs added 'Dhāt al-Autār (four square cylinders so arranged and contrived as to ascertain the time at different latitudes), 'Dhāt as-Simt wal Irtifā', al-Mushābahat bil Manātiq (an instrument for reading regular distances), 'Ḥalqat al-Kubrā' and 'Ḥalqat as-Ṣuḡhrā', various kinds of sun-dials, and most probably some sort of compass,⁵ and perhaps other instruments about which we do not know.

Before the invention of the telescope, the microscope, and the vernier, there can hardly be said to have been instruments of precision. But necessity is the mother of invention, and since there was the need for land-measure, for levelling and measurement of heights, the world developed several interesting instruments. In general, ancient surveyors measured distance by the use of a rope or a wooden rod. The unit of measurement varying in different localities. They laid off right-angles by the use of an instrument resembling the carpenter's square of the present day.⁶

Of all the instruments in use by the Muslim astronomer-geographers the most familiar was the astrolabe in its various forms. The astrolabe has had a long history among astronomico-mathematical instruments. The word is derived from the Greek *αστρον* 'star' and *λαβειν* 'to take'.⁷

1. Jurjī Zaidān, 'Ulūm-i-Arab, p. 227.

2. *Encyclop.*, Vol. IV, p. 995.

3. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadvī, *Ziauddin Usturlābi Humāyūni*, Aug. 1933, *Ma'arif*.

4. 'Atāul-Hakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*. This work is under publication.

5. Still a matter of controversy; will be dealt with presently.

6. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, Vol. II, pp. 344-45.

7. *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th Ed., Vol. I, p. 793.

since it was an instrument used not only for stellar but also for solar and lunar altitude-taking. The basic instrument can be reduced to three fundamental types, according as they represent the projection of the Celestial Sphere on a plane, or the projection of this projection on a straight line, or the sphere itself without any projection.¹ The astrolabe dates back at least to Hipparchus and perhaps even earlier to Eratosthenes. In many ways it is the forerunner of the modern sextant.² It became a favourite instrument with Muslim scientists who effected many improvements on the older model. Firstly, they used a flat instrument, *astrolabium planisphaerum* (Ṣaṭḥī سطحی or Musattaḥ مسطح), in Arabic also called Dhāt aṣ-Ṣafa'ih, consisting of tablets. It was a portable metal instrument in the form of a disc, ranging in size from 3.9 inches to 7.8 inches in diameter, and had a handle ('Urwa) through which passed a suspending ring (Halqa, 'Ilāqa), by means of which it could be suspended in a vertical position.³ As a result of many improvements the Muslim scientists used the astrolabe for finding the height of any star on immediate observation and thereby knowing the hours of day and night already spent; then in addition to solving many problems of spherical astronomy (with which we are not concerned here) it was useful in undertaking geodetic operations, e.g., for calculating the distance of an inaccessible place, the height of a building, the depth of a well whose diameter could be measured. It is obvious that such a small instrument would not give great accuracy, and especially in the case of observations connected with celestial phenomena where, on account of the precession of the equinoxes and the diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic, variations occur over a period of time. It was only the advent of the telescope, the modern sextant, and the theodolite which gave precision to our observations and measurements. In fact, till the 17th century the mariners went on using the astrolabe for the direct measurement of the altitude of the sun.

In the course of time Europe learnt about the perfected astrolabe from Arabian sources, and on account of its utility it became known as a 'Marvel of Convenience and Ingenuity' and was also called the 'Mathematical Jewel'.⁴

It is not intended to provide a history of astrolabe-making, but some of the outstanding makers of this instrument and writers on the subject may be mentioned in passing. Among the earliest makers of the astrolabe among the Muslims were al-Fazārī (d. 796 A.D.) and an-Nairizī (d. 922 A.D.). Al-Khāzin wrote a book on it, *Kitāb Zīj aṣ-Ṣafa'ih*. Al-Khujandī (d. 382 A.H./992 A.D.), who lived in the Court of Fakhr ad-Dawla the Buwaihid, constructed an instrument known as 'Sudas al-Fakhrī, سدس الفخری (some kind of astrolabe), by means of which latitudes of places were found

1 Nallino, *Encyclop. Islam*, Vol. I.

2 Dickinson and Howarth, *Making of Geography*, p. 108.

3 Nallino, *Encyclop. Islam*, Vol. I.

4 *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th Ed. Vol. I, p. 795.

out. It has been called the forerunner of the modern sextant.¹ Al-Jilli (971-1029 A.D.) also wrote a book on the astrolabe. In the observatory of Sharaf ad-Dawla at Baghdad, towards 1000 A.D., were two famous instrument makers aṣ-Ṣāghānī and Rustum al-Kūhī. Al-Bīrūnī was not only a great writer on instruments in use, e.g., in several *Risālas*² on Uṣṭurlāb and the *Kitāb at-Taḥḥīm*³; among others he mentions al-Khujandī his friend and contemporary Abū-Sa'īd as-Sinjārī (maker of a big astrolabe), and al-Jilli—he himself was no less an inventor of many instruments. In the west az-Zarqālī (1029-1088 A.D.) was the outstanding maker of astrolabes and his *Saḥīḥa* exerted the most far-reaching influence on the use of the improved astrolabe in Europe. Mathematicians, astronomers, sailors, and mariners remained familiar with it for several centuries. Later, in the east, Badī' az-Zamān (d. 1139/40 A.D.) Uṣṭurlābī was the most efficient astrolabe-maker of the time. He also constructed a celestial sphere and a globe, among other instruments. Muẓaffar at-Ṭūsī is known for his 'Asā'i Ṭūsī' and al-'Urḍī was the most celebrated of the instrument-makers of the Marāghā observatory. It is said that he was the supervisor of a foundry and tool-shop which was attached to the observatory. He was in all probability the author of a treatise describing the instruments used at Marāghā. Among other instruments he was the maker of a Hipparch's diopter (alidade) and parallactic rulers (after Ptolemy).⁴ It is also surmised that at this observatory they also had instruments with which they could distinctly perceive remote objects (may be, a sort of miniature telescope).⁵ The continued use and construction of good instruments is evident in the days of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand. Very late in the day, the craft spread to India, where onwards from Humāyūn's time the family of Dīa-ud-Dīn Uṣṭurlābī constructed many astrolabes through three or four generations.⁶

Religious and astronomical interest made it incumbent upon the astronomers to lay particular stress upon the accurate determination of the geographical latitudes and longitudes of places. Above all, the precise knowledge of latitudes was used in the construction of horizontal sun-dials ('baseta') which, like the town clocks in our own time, always adorned the open squares where there was usually a mosque. These sun-dials were constructed with regard to the latitude of a particular place.⁷ It is a legacy of those times that in many mosques today as well as a clock inside we find sun-dials adorning the court-yard.

The invention of such a useful instrument as the mariner's compass is

1. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, p. 12 (see footnote).

2. *Ibid.* (also see al-Bīrūnī's *India*, Arabic text edited by Sachau).

3. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 12.

4. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 1013. (here the question of 'Urḍī's authorship of the treatise on instruments is discussed and Sarton gives a list of the instruments made by him).

5. According to 'Atāul Hakīm, *History of Arab Mathematics*, (quoting from Jourdan).

6. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadwī—*Dīa-Uddīn Humāyūn Us-Ṭurābī*, *Ma'arīf*, Aug. 1933.

7. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*, *American Geographical Review*, Vol. XIV, 1924.

in some quarters¹ still regarded as obscure, and the claim of originality is divided between the Chinese, Greeks, Etruscans, Finns, Italians, and Arabs. The theory of Chinese origin is now largely discredited, as it is pointed out that "the first practical use of the magnetic needle was credited by the Chinese themselves to foreigners, who were in all probability Muslims."² The extensive Muslim maritime activity would certainly warrant the use of such an instrument. What has given cause for speculation, however, is the fact that according to some the earliest reference to it outside of China is found in Europe in the Latin writings of Alexander Neckam,³ but the Englishman does not speak of it as a novelty. Muslim references are said to be later, perhaps for purposes of secrecy mention of the instrument was avoided. But Maulānā Sulaimān Nadwī⁴ asserts that the earliest mention of the *Qutb Numā* is found in Idrisī's work, who says that it was commonly used among the Arabs. The floating compass and its early popularity with the Muslim sailors of the Indian Ocean is a historical fact, see *Jawāmi'-al-Hikāyāt* by 'Awfī.

MEASUREMENT OF LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES

It should be remembered that methods and instruments for the precise determination of position, i.e., latitude and longitude, are essential to navigation and the construction of accurate maps. Generally speaking, latitude may be determined by the measurement of the altitude of the sun, the pole star, or the upper and lower culminations of a circumpolar star. The earliest instrument known for measuring the elevation of the sun was the gnomon (مقياس), which consists simply of a vertical rod, from the length of whose shadow the altitude of the sun can be calculated. It is traced back to the Babylonian times. It has often been asserted that in the matter of these measurements Muslim astronomer-geographers in no way surpassed the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. But such a view is based upon insufficient knowledge of the work done by the Muslim. It has been rightly pointed out that "various Arabic geographers carried out unusually thorough researches leading to the determination of geographical latitudes, and thereby contrived methods as original as the results occasionally were accurate."⁵ For example, Ibn-Yūnus first called attention to the error resulting in the reckoning of latitude from the shadow of the gnomon, because in this manner errors of as much as 15 creep in, as the shadows are cast from the upper edge of the sun and not from its central point.⁶ The

1. *Encyclop. Brit.* Vols. 5-6, pp. 806-8.

2. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 629.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 630.

4. for Maulānā's criticism of the views expressed in *Encyclop. Brit.* and for further details proving Muslim origin, see *Arab Navigation*, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1942.

5. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*.

6. *Ibid.*

early astronomers, al-Khwārizmī, Ferghānī, Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib and al-Baṭṭānī made use primarily of Greek and Indian methods of finding latitude. But Schoy points out how Khwārizmī hinted at (though he did not apply) the method of the culmination of a circumpolar star. Ibn al-Haitham (965-1038 A.D.) devoted a separate work to the exact calculation of latitude.¹ He recommended the taking of a bright fixed star for the precise determination of the latitude of the pole. But al-Bīrūnī came out with much scientific and original suggestion in his masterpiece *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, applying the method of circumpolar stars to the sun. His latitude of Ghazni found by this method was accurate, and he found the latitude of numerous places which are mentioned in *Kitāb al-Hind*, *Kitāb at-Taḥīm*, and *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*. Other almost exact calculations were those of the three sons of Mūsā b. Shākir at Baghdad, al-Māhānī at Surra-man-ra'a, Ibn-Yūnus at al-Muqaṭṭam, and Ulugh Beg at Samarqand.

As far as the determination of longitude is concerned, it was a much more difficult problem until the 18th century, for two reasons,—firstly, there was the problem of choosing a prime meridian, secondly, the difficulty of calculating the angular distance east and west of this line. Ptolemy had used the meridian of the Fortunate Isles (vaguely identified with the Canaries) as his standard.

In the determination of longitude the Muslims either began in the farthest west, like the Greeks, and counted through 180° to the east, or sometimes the reckonings were made east and west of an arbitrary prime meridian which at times was supposed to pass through the 'Cupola of Arin' (Qubbat al-Ard) lying at the centre of the earth's surface on the equator. 'Arin' was perhaps a corrupt reading of the name of the Indian town, Ujjain. Before al-Bīrūnī's time a common method of finding longitude was to make use of the eclipses of the moon. The result was that inaccuracies to the extent of several degrees cropped up. He is said to have been first to point out the so-called terrestrial method of calculation. "Having determined accurately the shortest linear distance between two points and the latitudes of each, al-Bīrūnī calculated the difference in longitude from the data thus acquired. This he did in correcting older figures for the distance in longitude between Alexandria and Ghazna, together with the longitudes of number of intermediate points. This calculation is discussed in a chapter of his famous astronomical geography—*Qānūn Mas'ūdī*, a work comparable to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy."²

The technical procedure of the Arab geographers in determining longitude by the observation of the eclipses of the moon was fully elaborated by Ibn-Yūnus.³ An outstanding improvement as a result of the careful calculations of longitude by Muslims was the correction in the exaggerated

1. Schoy, *Geography of the Muslims of the Middle Ages*.

2. *Ibid.*

3. In *Hākimite Tables*.

length of the Mediterranean Sea, which was a legacy of the Ptolemaic error of no less than 17° .

THE EARTH : ITS SHAPE, SIZE, AND MOVEMENTS

THE opinion on the sphericity of the earth was divided in the Europe of the Middle Ages ; one can find ideas ranging from the absurdities propounded by Cosmas to the hesitation of the Christian mind to accept the pagan views. St. Augustine¹ regarded roundness as incredible. On the whole the question remained highly hypothetical and the mediæval European mind steeped in ignorance born of religious obscurantism was not prepared to accept the idea of sphericity, which sounded somewhat paradoxical and fantastic to it. Thus a great deal of unscientific and amusing argument centred round the idea of the antipodes and the human life therein. While on the other hand, in accordance with their scientific attitude, nearly all the Arab geographers believed in the sphericity of the earth, as, according to Honigmann, the Eratostherian theory of climate so fully elaborated by them implied such a belief. The majority, therefore, held to the idea of the earth's being a sphere floating in space. Ibn-Rustah summarises these ideas in his *Work of Costly Treasures*.

As to the size of the earth, much speculation along with serious attempts at measurement had gone on from very early times. Among such attempts the following may be noted with reference to the earth's circumference.

Greek—Aristotle 45,964,² Eratosthenes 25,000,³

Posedonius—18,000, Ptolemy 18,000.

Hindu—Aryabhatta 33,177, Brahmagupta 50,936

Acharya 48,714.

No sooner had Muslim scientific astronomical and mathematical activity begun than geodetic operations engaged the attention of scholars. The first outstanding attempt at the measurement of the earth's circumference was made by al-Māmūn's scientists under the supervision of the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir in the plain of Sinjar in the Syrian desert. The method that they adopted was that a number of observers setting out from the same point walked some to the north and the others to the south, until they had seen the pole star rise and sink one degree. They had been using a rope and fixing it to pegs, and when it was measured, giving the total distance covered, the mean of the results was taken. They actually did not keep this mean but adopted the larger of the two values, viz., $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles.⁴ The circumference thus worked out to 20,400 miles. The radius of the

1 Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 46.

2. Results are given in English miles, unless otherwise stated.

3. Geographical miles.

4. Arnold and Guillaume, *Legacy of Islam*, p. 381. But Shibli (see *al-Mā'mūn*, p. 173) gives the reading as $66\frac{2}{3}$ miles, quoting Ibn al-Khallikān.

earth according to al-Baṭṭānī and al-Farghānī was 3,250 Arabian miles and Ibn-Rustah put it at 3,818.¹ But once more we find the great al-Bīrūnī excelling everybody. In Chapter VII of *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* he discusses the question of the circumference of the earth. He undertook measurements in a level plain in northern Dahistan in Jurjān, but the attempt fell short of success; he therefore brought the task to completion in India by measuring the so-called horizontal depression from a mountain, and the result was 56 miles, 050". In this connection he very favourably comments on the calculations carried out under the sons of Mūsā b. Shākir. The question of the motion of the earth was not discussed in Europe and the planet was considered to be stationary in the centre of the Universe. But many Muslim geographers, e.g., 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Kātibī, Quṭb ad-Dīn Shīrāzī, and the Syrian Abu'l-Faraj, doubted the idea of rest and hinted at a daily rotation, though the idea was finally rejected because that involved the complete understanding of the laws of motion, which had to wait for Galileo and Kepler. But the very fact that doubts were expressed against Ptolemaic findings showed that the Muslims had a commendable progressive tendency and cleared the way for the Copernican reform in 1543. One wonders how Copernicus' work remained undone in spite of such an advanced scientific outlook.

Al-Bīrūnī, accepting the vague Babylonian and Hindu conceptions, believed in the turning of the earth on its own axis. He believed in the movement of the sun round the earth. But being a true scientist he had an open mind and therefore spoke with admiration of the suggestion of Abū-Sa'īd Sinjarī regarding the possible movement of the earth round the sun.² Later, the question of rotation was taken up by 'Umar al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, one of the workers at the Marāgha observatory, who prepared an edition of the *Almagest* (d. 1277 A.D.). In his *Hikmat al-'Ain* he introduced the ticklish argument, "If it, i.e., the earth, did not rotate, could a flying bird keep up with it?" Answering³ he said, yes, because the atmosphere might be turning together with the earth and drag the bird. But he was overpowered by the Aristotelian prejudice against accepting such a revolutionary contention and therefore he was unable to anticipate Galileo and Kepler. He added, "All terrestrial motions take place in a straight line and therefore we cannot admit that the earth should move in a circle."⁴ Then among others who had led the question was Quṭb ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (1236-1311 A.D.), pupil of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī. An important work on astronomical geography was his *Nihāyat al-Idrāk fī Dirāyat al-Aflāk* ("On the highest understanding of the knowledge of spheres") based on Ṭūsī's *Tadhkira*, and including discussions on geography, geodesy, and

1. *Encyclop Islam*

2. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadvī, *'Ilm-Jughrāfiyā al-Arab*, ad-Diā, Jan 1933.

3. Barnī, *Al-Bīrūnī*, pp 210-11

4. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 764.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 868

meteorology. He discussed the question whether the earth was at rest or not. Shīrāzī too could not go beyond the ruling conceptions about motion and concluded in favour of rest and conceived of the earth as an immobile sphere placed at the centre of the Universe. But the fact that he discussed the problem at length¹ was in itself a healthy sign.

RÉSUMÉ

A SURVEY of the Muslim contributions to the astronomical and mathematical side of geography reveals that, with only a few exceptions, the workers in the field were unable to adopt both methods as their own, the mathematical and astronomical on the one hand, and the statistical and descriptive on the other. In fact, the development of these two aspects of Muslim geographical science followed a parallel course. There remained 'specialists' in each branch. Indeed, it is only rarely that we come across men like al-Bīrūnī, who was in a class by himself and as his great works bear witness was well-versed in all conceivable pursuits of geographical knowledge. Others who seem to suggest a *rapprochement* between astronomo-mathematical and descriptive geography are al-Khwārizmī, Idrīsī, Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, and Quṭb ad-Dīn Shīrāzī.

Beginning a little before the spread of the knowledge of Greek geography, and then onwards as that knowledge grew, Muslim geographical thought went on developing to a remarkable extent. As has already been pointed out, it was a part and parcel of that general intellectual movement which will ever remain the most glorious chapter in the history of Islam and a definite stage in the development of culture. From the very beginning the Muslim Renaissance was truly an international awakening. From the middle of the 8th century until the 12th, Latin culture was almost entirely overwhelmed by Muslim culture. Therefore, anyone undertaking to study the history of science (especially geography) and civilization during this period, must go to the Muslim sources. Thus when Europe wished to reopen the chapter of ancient thought and deeper knowledge, it turned in the first instance not to Greek but to Arabian sources. It is generally not fully realized what extensive in activity translating began in Europe towards the end of the 12th century. The first translation of the *Almagest* from Arabic into Latin was made by Gerard of Cremona in 1175 A.D. Likewise the same scholar after crossing over from Italy to Spain, translated a vast number of Greek and Muslim philosophical works from Arabic into Latin at Toledo. Among other things he translated Banū-Mūsā's work, al-Khwārizmī, al-Farghānī, Nairizī, Thābit b. Qurra, the tables of Jābir b. Aflāh, and Zarqālī. The usual procedure was that Greek or Muslim knowledge was either translated from Arabic into Latin or from Arabic to Hebrew and thence into Latin. An eminent

¹ *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol II, p. 1018.

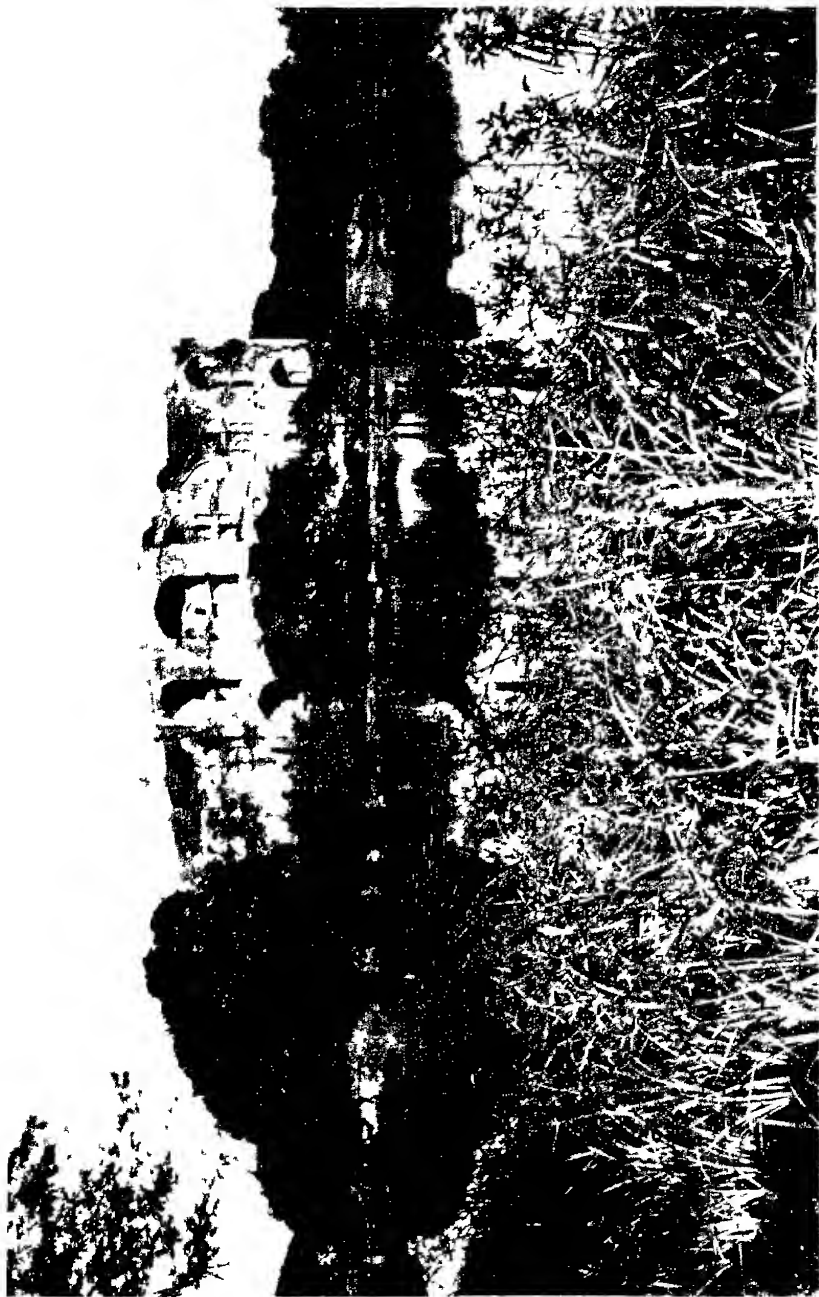
scholar¹ has pointed out three stages of such transmission, viz., Constantine the African (2nd half of the 11th century), John of Seville (1st half of the 12th century), and Gerard of Cremona (2nd half of the 12th century). And no less important are the translations into Spanish and Portuguese under Alfonso X at Toledo. Other noted translators were Arnold of Villanova, Jacob ben Mahir, Albert the Bishop, St. Thomas, and Bacon. It is undeniable that up to the third quarter of the 13th century the only geographical theorist in the West was Roger Bacon, and Muslims continued to be leaders both in the theoretical and the mathematical branches of geography.

In the light of the facts of history it seems ridiculous to assert (as is often stated in history books taught at schools and colleges) that the European Renaissance was ushered in merely as a result of the translation of Greek works into Latin and other European languages which took place in consequence of the Muslim conquest of Constantinople in 1453, when many savants took refuge elsewhere. Actually, as we have suggested above, the ideas which created the revolution in the European mind had already been filtering through, and their cumulative effects were becoming progressively greater and deeper. Thus, with the rest of the sciences, most certainly Muslim efforts in the field of astronomical and mathematical geography reached the West, and a direct evidence of this (if it is at all needed) is found in the Latin and other European versions of the names of practically all the great astronomical and mathematical geographers who have been named in the course of this survey.²

NAFIS AHMAD.

¹ Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II, p. 321.

² I am highly indebted to Prof. M. A. R. Khan for the valuable help he has rendered in revising and correcting my articles on Muslim geography.



Bagh-i-Farah Bakhsh—General View from the South-East

(*Idi p. 108*)

[*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey, Government of India*]

SALĀBAT KHAN II

ONE of the eminent personalities in the history of the Deccan is Ṣalābat Khān II, who held for some twelve years the reins of government and control of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. His régime as Wakīl and Pishwā is a glorious period in the history of Aḥmadnagar, in which the kingdom made such remarkable progress in trade and industry, arts and crafts, education, and culture that historians are one in declaring that "since the days of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmanī (1358-1375), such prosperity and administration were not heard of in the Deccan."²

There are in the history of the Deccan a number of persons who bore the title of Ṣalābat Khān, viz., Ṣalābat Khān, the nephew of 'Ainul-Mulk of Bijāpūr, Ṣalābat Khān Māzandarānī, who belonged to the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom of Golconda, and Ṣalābat Khān II, who was the chief minister of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587) of Aḥmadnagar. We are here concerned with the last named only.

Among the various presents that Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the Ṣafawī ruler of Irān, sent to Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-1565), was a Circassian youth of extraordinary gifts and capacities, Shāh Qulī³ called Shihāb Khān in the inscription⁴ on the Taltam Fort, whose intelligence, ready wit, and other attainments so pleased the king that he became the royal favourite, with the consequence that he progressed day by day and rose to a position of importance in the politics of the country. From the statement that Firishta⁵ and others make that his death took place in 1589 A.D. at the age of seventy, we can safely infer that Shāh Qulī (who bore the title of Ṣalābat Khān II) was born about the year 1519. A.D.

1. This paper was originally submitted for reading at the fifth session of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, 1941, and is now being published with certain alterations with the permission of the local secretary, my friend, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Bar-at-law, who has also helped me in a number of ways.

2. Ferishta (Bombay edition), II, p. 279. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 373; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-u'l-Lubāb*, III, p. 217.

3. Ferishta, loc. cit., II, p. 272

4. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-1936, pp. 20-21

5. Vol. II, p. 295.

HIS CAREER

WHEN Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587) became suspicious of the fidelity of his prime minister Changiz Khān¹ and wanted him to drink the poison he had specially sent for him, the latter, who was always loyal to his master and ready to die at his bidding, submitted for the king's guidance a *Dastūr-u'l-'Amal* accompanied by a petition, containing a list of those of the nobles and officers who had proved themselves loyal and useful to the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.² This list contained the names of Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, Shāh Qulī (Ṣalābat Khān II), Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Nazīrī, Amīnu'l-Mulk Nishāpūrī, and Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Tīhrānī. Changiz Khān's posts of Wakīl and Pīshwā were given to Ḥakīm Muḥammad Mišrī in 1575, but after six months he was removed and Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Tīhrānī³ was appointed in his place. Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Nazīrī and Amīnu'l-Mulk Nishāpūrī were appointed Wazīrs. Shāh Qulī, who was created a noble with the title of Ṣalābat Khān II, was given command of the Left Wing of the army, which post had fallen vacant owing to the promotion of Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī to the command of the Right Wing.⁴ When Sayyid Murtaḍā was again promoted to the post of Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, Ṣalābat Khān II succeeded him in the command of the Right Wing.⁵

In addition to the above post, Ṣalābat Khān II was also assigned the duty of guarding the Fort (of Aḥmadnagar) during the time when the king had taken to seclusion. It was then that he incurred the enmity of the king's favourite Ṣāhib Khān, a full account of whose pernicious activities is given by Firishṭa and other historians. Notwithstanding certain altercations that took place between Ṣāhib Khān and Ṣalābat Khān II, the latter went on gradually rising higher and higher, until the posts of Wakīl and Pīshwā were given jointly to him and to Asad Khān Turk after Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Tīhrānī's deportment to his native country as a punishment for having misappropriated public revenues received by him

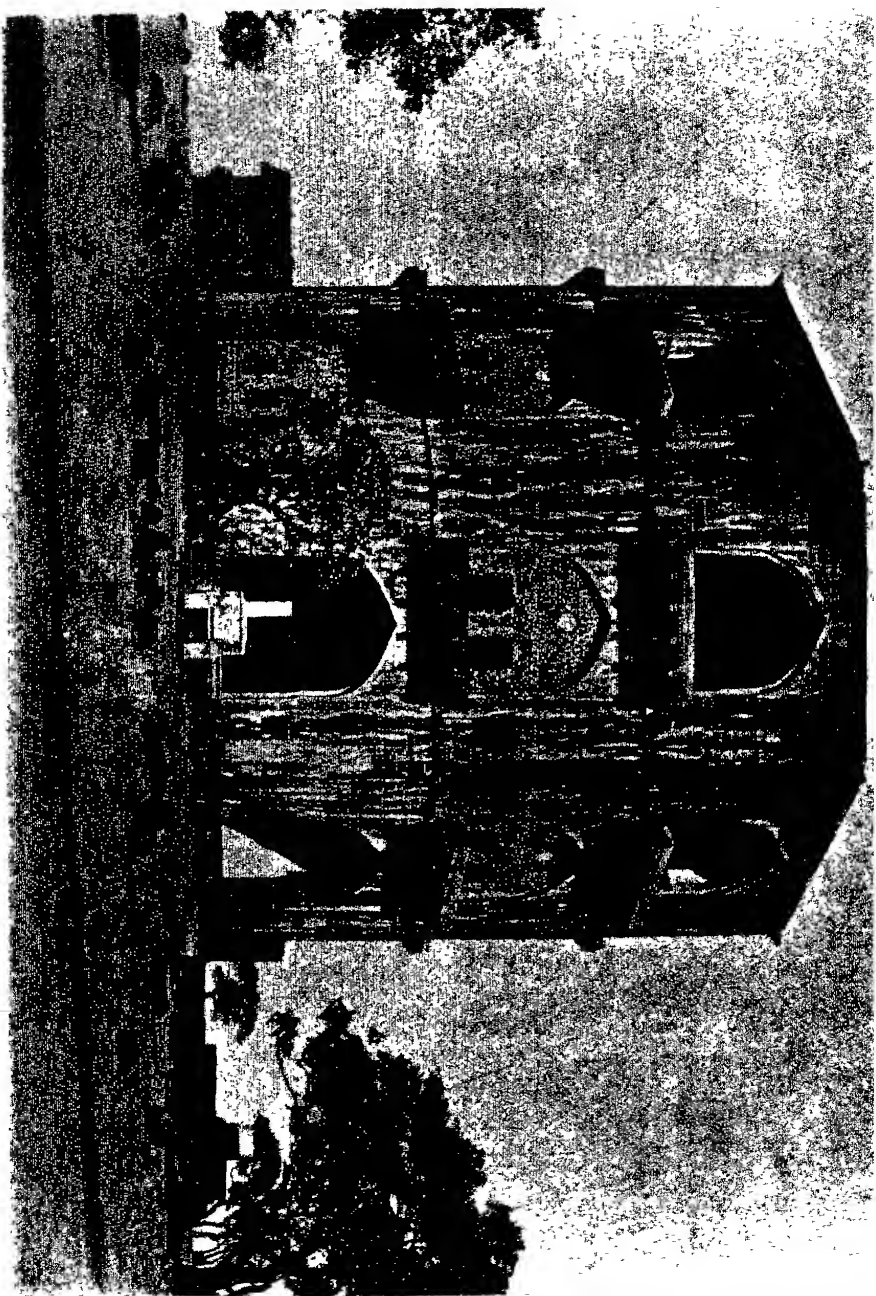
1 Khwāja Mīrāk Dabīr, who later on received the title of Changiz Khān was for some time the chief minister of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1587). During the Wikālat of Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husayn, he made himself conspicuous for the first time by defeating the Bijāpūr forces under 'Ain-u'l-Mulk, whom he killed. Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husayn then appointed Khwāja Mīrāk Dabīr his own deputy. During the siege of the Portuguese fort of Rejḍanda, Khwāja Mīrāk Dabīr alone refused to be disloyal to his master. After his return from the campaign, Khwāja Mīrāk Dabīr was appointed Wakīl in place of Shāh Jamāl-u'd-Dīn Husayn, who was dismissed. To him alone is credit due for the conquest of the province of Be'ar, and it was soon after that conquest that he fell from power. The king, who could not distinguish between loyalty and disloyalty, made him drink the cup of poison which brought about his death. Ferishta, II, p. 263.

2 Ferishta, II, p. 271. It may be noted that Briggs does not give the names of the persons mentioned in the list, probably because the MS. on which he bases his translation did not contain this list.

3 *Ibid.*, Tabātabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, p. 484.

4 Tabātabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 484.

5 *Ibid.*



Selima Khān's Tomb (the site known as Chānd Būi-kā-Mahal) — View from the East.

in the capacity of Wakīl and Pīshwā.¹ Although these posts were held by these two personages in a joint capacity, the real power rested with Şalābat Khān II, to the envy of Asad Khān's admirers, among whom was Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the powerful Şūbadār of Berār. The real cause of the enmity that found expression in the various attacks made by Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī on Aḥmadnagar with the express object of overthrowing Şalābat Khan II, was that the former had acted on various occasions as the superior of the latter, and did not like taking his orders directly from his former subordinate, Şalābat Khan II. This enmity assumed later on disastrous form, damaging thereby the established repute of the kingdom, not to speak of the heavy losses sustained in war by way of defeat, men, and money. But what the kingdom suffered in this respect was probably more than made up by Şalābat Khan II's good administration, by his efforts to expand his master's territories, and by the general welfare and public prosperity that ensued during his régime, about which we shall have something to say later.

In 1580, when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr was killed and his nephew Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, a minor, succeeded to the throne, Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh I called upon Şalābat Khān to dispatch an army for the conquest of the 'Ādil Shāhī territories. At that time the post of Commander-in-Chief of the army was held by Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, a veteran warrior and an experienced general. Instead of putting him in command of this campaign, Şalābat Khān nominated Bihzādu'l-Mulk, a Circassian youth of very little experience and standing. He also ordered Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī to join Bihzādu'l-Mulk on the campaign in a subordinate capacity. This was, indeed, a slight not only to the dignity of the veteran Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī but also to the dignity of many other senior officers, who refrained from taking an active part in the campaign, with the inevitable consequence that the Nizām Shāhī forces were completely defeated and a huge booty comprising no less than two-hundred and fifty elephants, with weapons and money, fell into the hands of the victors, apart from the large number of men who fell in the battle.² And although Şalābat Khān II gave the command later to Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the campaign proved an utter failure.

Şalābat Khān II, who owed his position as a joint Wakīl and Pīshwā to his colleague Asad Khān Turk, now tried to oust him by taking away almost all power from his hands, only to the envy of his adversaries, among whom Sayyid Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, the Şūbadār of Berār, was too powerful to be ignored. The Şūbadār made common cause with Asad Khān Turk in trying to overthrow Şalābat Khan, but was unsuccessful and had to take refuge in the court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Asad Khān Turk was soon after dismissed from his posts and imprisoned in the fort of Jond.³

1. Firishṭa, loc. cit., II, p. 276; Ṭabāṭabā, loc. cit., p. 505; Khāfī Khān, Muntakhab III, p. 213

2. Ibid., p. 280; Bombay Gazetteer, XVII, p. 373, Ṭabāṭabā, loc. cit., p. 512

3. Ṭabāṭabā, loc. cit., pp. 543, 548

It was at this juncture that the king, who had conceived the idea of putting an end to the life of Prince Mīrān Ḥusain, probably at the suggestion of some of his astrologers who had told him that his death would be caused by that prince, now insisted upon his wish being fulfilled. Ṣalābat Khān, who had on various occasions tried to put off the king's orders about killing the prince, now submitted to the king that the prince was undergoing a dangerous illness which would in all probability cause his death, and that the king need not worry on that account. But this could not please the king, who now conceived a hatred for Ṣalābat Khān II.

In the same year the once defeated Prince Burhān appeared again in the garb of a 'Darwīsh' at Aḥmadnagar with the object of removing Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh from the throne, of killing Ṣalābat Khān II, and of assuming sovereignty for himself.¹ Ṣalābat Khān dealt a heavy blow at the Prince who fled to Konkan, whence he went to Gujrāt and took service with the Mughal Emperor Akbar.²

HIS FALL AND IMPRISONMENT

At this time a dispute arose between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr about the fort of Shōlāpūr, which was originally given as dowry by Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I to princess Chānd Bibī at the time of her marriage with the 'Ādil Shāh.³ As her husband had now died, Ṣalābat Khān II represented to the Bijāpūr Wakīl that the 'Ādil Shāh's ownership of the fort had legally ceased and that it should be peacefully surrendered to the Nizām Shāh, otherwise the latter would not give any feast in commemoration of the marriage of Prince Mīrān Ḥusain with the 'Ādil Shāhī princess.⁴ Thereupon the Bijāpūr ruler laid siege to the fort of Ausa. Thinking this siege by the 'Ādil Shāhī forces to have been the natural outcome of Ṣalābat Khān's policy, the king, who had already conceived a hatred for him, now openly upbraided him and accused him of infidelity.⁵ Notwithstanding the immense power that he wielded, Ṣalābat Khān requested the king to name a fort where he could go as a prisoner, if the king thought him faithless. The king nominated the fort of Dandā Rājpurī, to which Ṣalābat Khān immediately repaired of his own accord in obedience to his master, although his friends and followers vehemently protested against this action.⁶ There he lay as a prisoner until by Firishta's advice King Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh sent orders for his release, when Mīrzā Khān and Prince Mīrān Ḥusain were about to attack

1 Khāfi Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 217, *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 374; Firishta, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 282; Briggs, III.

2 *Ibid*

3 Firishta, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 283, *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 552

4 *Ibid*

5 Firishta, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 284; *Tabāṭabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 553.

6 *Ibid*



Tisgaon, Gatewa,—from the West
(*Vide p 199*)

the fort of Aḥmadnagar in 1589.¹ But before Ṣalābat Khān could arrive, the prince had murdered the king and assumed the sovereignty of Aḥmadnagar.² Mīrzā Khān, who was then appointed Wakīl and Pīshwā to Mīrān Ḥusain Shāh, had Ṣalābat Khān imprisoned again in the fort of Kherla. From this captivity he was released during the régime of Jamāl Khān Mahdawī by the efforts of Muḥammad Khān, the Ṣubadār of Berār.³

The last part that Ṣalābat Khān played in the politics of the kingdom was the attack which he led against Jamāl Khān Mahdawī with all the 'New-comers' that he could collect, but he was defeated by the huge forces of the Mahdawī leader.⁴ Finally, taking a *Qawl-nāma*⁵ from Jamāl Khān, Ṣalābat Khān engaged himself in completing some of the monuments which he had built at Tisgaon,⁶ a town which was founded by him. Thereafter he came to Aḥmadnagar and repopulated the town of Bhingār,⁷ which had been forsaken and desolated. There he died in 1589 at the age of seventy, and was buried in the tomb that he had built during his régime as Wakīl and Pīshwā on the hill of Shah Donger.⁸

ṢALĀBAT KHĀN II AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

If Ṣalābat Khān was great as a warrior and statesman he was equally so as an administrator. The way in which he administered the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar has been considered ideal. Throughout the kingdom he had established a well-organised system, most probably copied from the Bahmanids. The entire system of administration was split up into different departments falling under two broad divisions—the military and the civil. Probably the navy formed part of the military division.

The army, composed of the cavalry and the infantry, was headed by the commander-in-chief, under whom were two subordinate officers, one in charge of the cavalry and the other of the infantry. The distinguishing features of the cavalry were its Topkhāna and Fīlkhāna. The infantry was further divided into Muqaddima, Maimana, and Maisara,

1. Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 287, *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 375, Khāfī Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, 224

2. *Ibid.*

3. Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 482, Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 294, *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 377, Khāfī Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 231

4. Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 583, Firishṭa, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 295, Khāfī Khān, *loc. cit.*, III, p. 231; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 378. It is remarkable that Tabāṭabā states that Ṣalābat Khān did not fight with Jamāl Khān but retreated.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Now a village situated on the Aḥmadnagar-Pāthardī Road, about 16 miles north of Aḥmadnagar. Ṣalābat Khān founded this town (Tabāṭabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 585) and named it Husamabad (Mirikar, *Aḥmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa*, p. 57)

7. A town about two miles east of the city of Aḥmadnagar. It is an old town and existed before the city of Aḥmadnagar was founded. For further description see *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 713-14

8. Situated about six miles east of the city of Aḥmadnagar. For description see *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 705-706

at the head of each of which was an experienced officer who was directly responsible to the commander of the infantry. The latter, in his turn, was subordinate only to the Commander-in-Chief. Probably the same order prevailed in the cavalry and the navy.

Usually the Šubadār of Berār was the supreme head of the Nizām Shāhī forces and received his orders directly from the Wakīl of the kingdom. To give an instance, Šalābat Khān was perfectly within his rights in sending a direct order to Murtaḍā Sabzwārī, as we have already pointed out before, which order the powerful Šubadār of Berar was legally bound to obey.

The civil side of the administration was a more elaborate affair. Starting with the Wakīl and Pishwā, who was the supreme head of the government, we come to a body of advisers (called Wazīrs,¹ who were subordinate to the Wakīl, and had a portfolio each assigned to them. Each Wazīr had a Dīwān (secretary) immediately subordinate to him, who was the head of that particular Wazīr's secretarial establishment. The Dīwān had under him Nāzirs (Superintendents), each entrusted with a special branch of the department. All matters referring to the portfolio emanated from and passed through the Dīwān, without whose seal and signature (which was attested by the Wazīr and countersigned by the Wakīl) no order was valid.²

The revenues of the empire were collected at the office of the Dīwān-i-Māl, which office passed the amounts on to the public treasury, which was under the direct control and supervision of the Wakīl and Pishwā. This is clear from the case of Sayyid Qāḍī Baig Ṭihirānī, who was removed from his post and deported to his native place,³ as we have already pointed out.

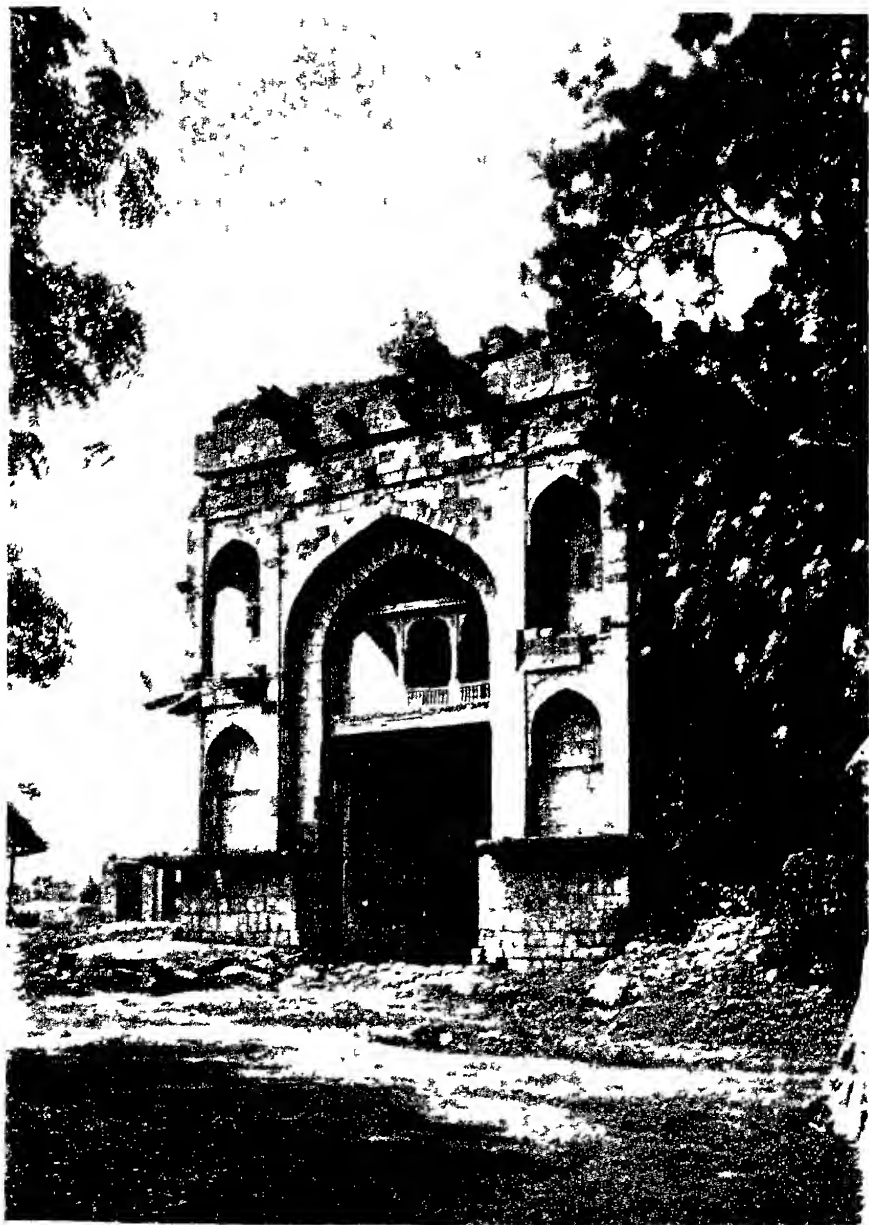
ŠALĀBAT KHĀN II'S EFFORTS TO REMOVE CRIME

THE city of Aḥmadnagar was directly under the Kotwāl, who had his patrolling officers to go round the city to prevent crimes from being committed. The chief offences of those days were robbery and dacoity. Šalābat Khān, who had made up his mind to uproot these evils from the entire kingdom, specially commissioned for this purpose Khwāja

1. Ferishta, *loc. cit.*, II, pp. 271, 285 clearly mentions the appointment of Wazīrs as distinct from that of Wakīl and Pishwā. The duty of the Wazīrs was probably to act merely as advisers. Note the change between the functions of the Wazīrs as they were discharged under the 'Abbasids and those of the Bahmanids, whose example the Nizām Shāhī and other Deccanī kings followed.

2. Šalābat Khān II, as also those who preceded him as prime minister, combined the two posts of Wakīl and Pishwā. The former designation most probably denoted the head of the executive, while the latter merely signified that the holder of the post was a viceroy or representative of the king, in whose name the entire government was carried out.

3. Ferishta, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 276.



Tsigāon Gate No 4—from the North East
(*Vide p 199*)

[*By courtesy of the Archaeological Survey Government of India*]

Ni'matullāh Tihrānī and Khwāja 'Ināyatu'llāh.¹ These two officers, with a special contingent from the army, went round the country and brought to book all those who indulged in these criminal occupations, with the result that people enjoyed perfect safety of life and property.²

HIS PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

THE Public Works Department under Şalābat Khān II was headed by the State Engineer, and all the public works were carried out at his suggestion and by his advice. He had under him a band of highly trained architects who prepared plans for all the monuments that Şalābat Khān constructed during his term of office as Wakīl and Pishwā. At that time the post of State Engineer was held by Ni'mat Khān Samnānī,³ with whose name some of the monumental buildings of Aḥmadnagar are associated, e.g., the Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh. The Public Works Department also looked after all the channels and waterways that supplied the city of Aḥmadnagar with water.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC GARDENS

AN important section of the Public Works Department was the Department of Public Gardens, which was under the direct supervision of a superintendent, who looked after the maintenance of gardens in the city. The art of gardening was brought to perfection under the refined taste of Şalābat Khān, who is said to have imported a number of flowers and fruit-trees into Aḥmadnagar.⁴ Firishta⁵ and others state that Şalābat Khān II planted no less than five lakhs of mango and tamarind trees in Aḥmadnagar, the fruit of which has been the proud enjoyment of its inhabitants even to this day.

ENDOWMENTS AND TRUSTS

ONE of the most important State departments was that of Endowments and Trusts. Under the Nizām Shāhī régime, its rulers, ministers, and public-spirited men had created a very large number of endowments and trusts for the public benefit; see e.g., the inscription on the Mangalwar Gate, Aḥmadnagar [published in the *EP. I. M.*, 1933-34, pp. 10-11, Plate V (a) and (b), and *Ibid.*, 1935-36, pp. 37-38, Plate XXV (a)]. The

1 *Firishta*, p. 279

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*; *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, Pt. I. p. 82; *Tabāṭabā*, loc. cit., pp. 542, 585.

5 *Firishta*, loc. cit., p. 279.

management of these public charities was entirely in hands of their respective Mutawallis, who were under the supervision of the Head of the Department of Endowments and Trusts.

ROYAL MINTS ESTABLISHED BY ŞALĀBAT KHĀN II

ANOTHER important measure adopted by Şalābat Khān II was the establishment of mints, where gold, silver, and copper coins¹ were struck with the name of the Nizām Shāhī ruler.² These mints continued to exist up to the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh II,³ but the department does not seem to have flourished so well as it did under Şalābat Khān II, who had mints at Aḥmadnagar, Burhānpūr (now known as Burhān Nagar, a desolate place at a distance for about two miles from the city of Aḥmadnagar) and Daulatābād. The first Muslim rulers who struck coins in the Deccan were the Bahmanids. Prior to their coinage, coins of the early Hindū kings and those of the Tughluqs and other Muslim rulers of India were current in the Deccan. At the time when the Bahmanids introduced their coinage, there were no less than thirty-five varieties of gold Huns, Pratābs, and Fanams.

ŞALĀBAT KHĀN AS A PATRON OF MEN OF LEARNING

HIMSELF a good poet⁴ and lover of Arabic and Persian poetry, Şalābat Khān II was a zealous patron of poets, artists, and men of learning. In

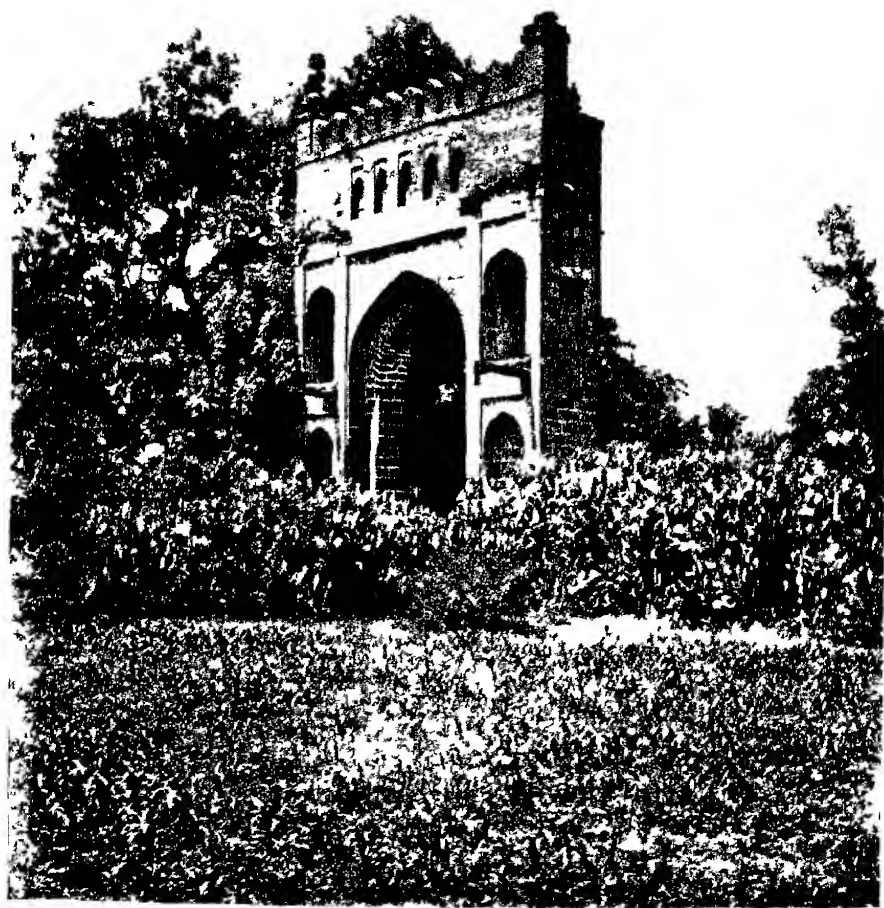
1. *Ibid.* (Newalkishore edition), I, p. 283; *Mahbūb-u'l-Watan*, I, pp. 229-430

2. *Ibid.* The first king to mint coins in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was apparently Burhān Nizām Shāh I. (d. 1553), two of whose copper coins have been described by Mr. Thānawāllā in the *Numismatic Supplement*, No. VII (article No. 48), pp. 51-52. The earlier of the two is dated 929 Hijrī, and is recorded to have been minted at Nagar (Aḥmadnagar)

It is however strange that Firishta (*loc. cit.*, I, p. 229) speaks of Şalābat Khān II as the first person who minted coins of gold, silver, and copper during the reign of Murtadā Nizām Shāh I. Mr. Thānawāllā also describes (*ibid.*) a copper coin of Murtadā Nizām Shāh I said to have been minted at Murtadā Nagar in 993/1584, evidently during Şalābat Khān's régime as Wakil and Pishwā. The same writer further describes a copper coin of Burhān Nizām Shāh, but is not certain to which Burhān, the I or the II, it refers. In this connection it may be pointed out that Firishta (*loc. cit.*, I, p. 283) and the author of the *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan*, I, p. 230, mention that coins were minted during the régime of Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1590-1594) in 1001 A.H., evidently at Burhānābād (locally known as Burhān Nagar, a village now in a ruinous condition lying about two miles east of Aḥmadnagar). Mr. Rodgers, in the *Journal, A. S. Bengal*, Part I, Vol. LXV (1896), describes "Some Rare Mughal Coins" from Burhānābād mint as coins of Akbar of the year 1001 A.H.. But evidently he has been led astray by the year of minting, for Burhān II, who was contemporaneous with the Mughal Emperor, had coins minted at Burhānābād in the same year. The coin which Mr. Thānawāllā describes in *Numismatic Supplement*, No. VII, p. 53, and which is complete in every detail, merely confirms the statements of Firishta and the author of *Mahbūb-u'l-Watan* referred to above

3. *Firishta, loc. cit.*, I, p. 283, *Mahbūb-u'l-Waṭan*, I, pp. 229-230.

4. In my paper "Some Literary Personages of Aḥmadnagar," published in the *Bull. D.C.R.I.*, Vol. III, I have given the introductory part of a Qasida which Şalābat Khān himself composed.



Tisgaon Gat. No. 5—from the North-East
(*vide p. 199*)

addition to other poets and men of letters whom he was instrumental in getting introduced to the Nizām Shāhī court, he himself patronised a number of poets of whom the following may be mentioned :—

1. Mullā Malik Qummī, a native of Qumm as his name implies, had from his childhood inclinations towards poetry and spent most of his time in the company of poets of his native place. He then went to Kāshān just to avail himself of the company of the poets of that place.¹ From Kāshān he went to Qazwīn where he resided for a period of four years.² By that time he had started composing tolerably good poetry. Learning of the fame of Şalābat Khān II as a patron of poets, he came to Aḥmadnagar in Ramaḍān A.H. 987 (1579 A.D.).³ Here he was patronised first by Şalābat Khān II and his master king Murtadā Nizām Shāh, and then after them by Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-1595). Here it was that he received as guest the more versatile Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Zuhūrī, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. When Faiḍī, the talented brother of Akbar's minister Abu'l-Faḍl, visited Aḥmadnagar in connection with a political mission, he was delighted to meet Zuhūrī and Malik Qummī, both of whom were considered by him to be noteworthy poets of Aḥmadnagar.⁴

After the trouble that shook the very foundations of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, that is, the murder of Murtadā Nizām Shāh I and the subsequent risings of the people of the Deccan under Jamāl Khān Mahdawī, Zuhūrī and Malik Qummī repaired to the patronage of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr,⁵ where most of Malik Qummī's illustrious work was done, either in collaboration with Zuhūrī or on this own account.

Of the works of Malik Qummī the following may be mentioned.

- (i) *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīm*, composed in collaboration with Zuhūrī.
- (ii) *Khwān-i-Khalīl*, also in partnership with Zuhūrī.
- (iii) *A Mystical Mathnawī* in the style of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadiqa*. It begins :
ای طرب ساز غم نگارنده هم نگاری و هم نگارنده

Described by Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 482.

- (iv) Another *Mathnawī* beginning with :

بنام آنکه در دلها وطن ساخت صم راقبله گه در همین ساخت

described by Ethé, *Cat.*, I, p. 820.

- (v) *Manba'-u'l-Anhār*, a *Mathnawī* divided into seventeen *nahrs*, which Sprenger⁶ ascribes to Malik Qummī, is claimed by Ethé⁷ to

1. Āzād, *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 30

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, pp. 397-417, where a full account is given

5. *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 30

6. *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 482.

7. *Cat.*, I, p. 821.

be the composition of Zuhūrī. Ethé bases his contention on the authority of the author of the *Khulāṣat-u'l-Kalām*, who gives extracts from the above poem under Zuhūrī's name. The poem was perhaps the joint effort of Malik Qummī and Zuhūrī. Be that as it may, the poem begins :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اهدنا الصراط المستقيم

(vi) *Asrār-i-A'imma*, another poem, some fragments of which I chanced to find in the MS. copy of Mullā Malik's *Kulliyāt*, No. 851, of the Aṣafia State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan. The first part is missing but in the concluding lines the name of the poem is given thus :

این دفتر را تمام کردم اسرار ائمه نام کردم

There are also Qaṣidas, Ghazals, Rubā'iyāt, Tarjī'āt, etc., found in all MSS. known to us. A typical Qaṣida of Malik Qummī in praise of the Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh of Aḥmadnagar has been cited by Ferishta as well as by Ṭabāṭabā. I published this Qaṣida with an English translation, the introductory part in my paper, "Some Literary Personages of Aḥmadnagar," *Bull. DCRI*, II, pp. 394-396.

Malik Qummī died in the Deccan in 1025/1615-16, as is pointed out by the chronogram "اوسراهل سخن بود" 1

2. More versatile than Malik Qummī was Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Zuhūrī Turshīzī, who was well-versed in all the branches of learning then known to the Muslims. He started his career as a Kātib, and is reported to have made no less than a hundred copies of the *Rawḍat-ū's-Ṣafā*.² But the calling did not satisfy his pecuniary needs ; and, gifted as he was, he soon realised that eulogising people was more lucrative than his earlier profession of a scribe. Leaving his native place he came to Aḥmadnagar and stayed as a guest with Malik Qummī,³ as we have already stated. Malik Qummī brought him to the notice of the minister Ṣalābat Khān II, who was immensely pleased with his poetic composition and conceived a great liking for him. As long as Ṣalābat Khān's glory lasted Zuhūrī was his favourite. After Ṣalābat Khān's death Zuhūrī remained at the Nizām Shāhī court until Jamāl Khān's oppression of the 'new-comers' compelled him to go to the 'Ādil Shāhī court at Bijāpūr.

1. This chronogram is the composition of Abū-Ṭālib Kalim and reads thus :

ملک آن یاد شاه ملک معنی	که نامش سکه نقد سخن بود
چنان آفاق گیر از ملک معنی	که حدملکش از قلم تا دکن بود
سوی گلزار جنت رفت آخر	که دلگیر از هوای این چمن بود
بحسبم سال تاریخش ز ایام	بگفتا اوسراهل سخن بود

(A.H. 1025/A.D. 1615-1616.)

2. *Bahārīstān* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 764).

3. *Tadhkira-i-Hamisha Bahār* (quoted in the *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 764).



Dharmshala at Tsigdon North
(1/6, 100)

Zuhūrī's *Sāqī Nāma*, the best of its kind in Persian literature, was dedicated to Burhān Nizām Shāh II.¹ At the 'Adil Shāhī court he produced a number of works which are well known to the students of Persian literature. His *Kulliyāt*² has been printed in India a number of times and need not detain us. He is said to have died along with Malik Qummī in 1025/1615-6.³

3. Another notable poet who received Şalābat Khān's patronage was Maulānā Şirafī of Sāwa.⁴ Tabātabā⁵ mentions him among the renowned poets of Aḥmadnagar who had assembled to sing the praises of the Bāgh-i-Farah Bakhsh at the Opening Ceremony, which Şalābat Khān held on the completion of the garden. At that time Şirafī had also composed a Qaṣīda, but in view of the excellence of Mullā Malik Qummī's Qaṣīda to which we have already referred, he tore up the roll on which his Qaṣīda was written. When Şalābat Khān heard of this incident he called Şirafī and rebuked him for this act. Şirafī died at Aḥmadnagar in 999/1590.⁶

4. Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī, famous as a warrior and officer of rank and ability, was also a good poet whom Şalābat Khān raised to a high post under him.⁷ Ferishta,⁸ who was his contemporary, considers him an "unrivalled Munshī and a good poet." Some of his quatrains are cited by the historian, and from them we can form some idea of his poetic skill.⁹

After the fall of Şalābat Khān, Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī was created joint Wakil and Pīshwā with Bihzād-u'l-Mulk.¹⁰ The latter attempted to oust him but was ordered to be put in prison, from which he was afterwards liberated. As he was recalled Bihzād-u'l-Mulk believed that he would be reinstated in his former post, but this was not to the liking of Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī, who wanted him to be sent back to prison. But since at that juncture the Bījāpūr forces had advanced on the Nizām Shāhī frontiers, Mīrzā Şādiq abandoned his plan and requested the king to pardon Bihzād-u'l-Mulk. This uncalled for intercession on the part of Mīrzā Şādiq Urdūbādī only displeased the king, who now ordered Bihzād-u'l-Mulk to have him arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Dandā Rājpurī.¹¹ Mīrzā

1. *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 30. When the *Sāqī Nāma* was presented to Burhān Nizām Shāh II, he was so pleased with it that he sent a costly reward, consisting of elephants, horses, pearls, and money, for Zuhūrī. This reward reached Zuhūrī when he was sitting in a 'Qahwakhāna.' When the carriers demanded a receipt, Zuhūrī scribbled on a piece of paper 'Taslim Kardand, Taslim Kardam' تسلیم کردند تسلیم کردم.

2. His prose works have been annotated by Abu'l-Yamīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq as-Sūrātī (Lith. Cawnpore, 1873).

3. *Sarw-i-Āzād*, p. 32.

4. *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, pp. 711-712.

5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 539.

6. *Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Dakan*, II, p. 712.

7. *Tabātabā*, *loc. cit.*, p. 539.

8. *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 292.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

10. *Ibid.*, II, p. 285.

11. *Ibid.*

Šādiq's régime as Wakil and Pīshwā lasted only for nine days. He was killed in Aḥmadnagar by the order of Jamāl Khān Mahdawī in 998/1589.¹

5. The last to be mentioned in the list of poets who were patronised by Šalābat Khān II is Shāh Aḥmad Murtaḍā Anjū, whose name has come down to us in connection with the following chronogram² which gives the date of the completion of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh:—

ارباب نشاط را خبر کن ناهای بر باغ فرح بخش گذر کن شاه

نعمت خان را ز مهر تاریخ ما ار باغ فرح بخش بد رکن ساها

ŠALĀBAT KHĀN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF AḤMADNAGAR

THE period in which Šalābat Khān II flourished was singularly favourable to art and architecture, for not only in Aḥmadnagar but throughout the Deccan, e.g., in Bijāpūr and Golconda also, there was an irresistible tendency to construct monuments, public gardens, and other edifices, which have withstood the ravages of time and destiny and are today an everlasting and unforgettable testimony to the greatness of their creators. Changīz Khān and Šalābat Khān II at Aḥmadnagar, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh in Bijāpūr, and many Quṭb Shāhī rulers in Golconda, vied with each other in constructing monuments in the Deccan. But while the tendency to construct continued to exist for a longer time in Bijāpūr and Golconda, it more or less died out with Šalābat Khān II in Aḥmadnagar.

Among the various monuments which were constructed under Šalābat Khān II, mention must first be made of the Bāgh-i-Faraḥ Bakhsh. This famous garden was originally entrusted for construction to the then State engineer Ni'mat Khān Samnānī by the minister Changīz Khān. Ni'mat Khān completed it, as is evident from the inscription³ which is found at present on the western wall of the District Judge's Court, Aḥmadnagar. It reads:

نام این از خوبی آب و هوا شد فرح بخش این چنین مستهور باد

بود نعمت خان ساعی بنا سعهای او همه مسکور باد

خواسته ناریخش از پیر خرد گفت یارب تا ابد معمور باد

When Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh went to inspect this edifice, it did not appeal to him. He therefore dismissed Ni'mat Khān from his post and ordered Šalābat Khān to have the building demolished and a new one built in its place. This new building was completed in 991/1584 A.H. On this occasion Shāh Aḥmad Murtaḍā Anjū composed the

1. *Tabāṭaba*, p. 292.

2. *Ferishta*, loc. cit., II, p. 279; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Supplement), 1933-34, p. 12; *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, pt. 1, p. 36.

3. Published with notes and translation by Dr. Nāẓim in the *Ep. Indo. M.* (Supplement), 1933-34, pp. 11-12.

chronogram to which we have already referred. A full description of this garden is to be found in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 703-4; Mirikar's *Ahmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa*, pp. 47-51; *Muzda-i-Ahmadnagar* (which also contains a hand-drawn picture of the garden), etc.

Another monument of Śalābat Khān is his Tomb, locally (though wrongly) known as *Chānd Bibi kā Mahal*, situated on the Shāh Donger, a few miles east of Ahmadnagar. This Tomb was built by him during his rule as Wakīl and Pīshwā, and commands a view of the surrounding country, not to speak of the capital of the kingdom. From the architectural point of view also the building is remarkable. I refrain from giving a description of it here as it has already been well described by Campbell¹ and others.²

Śalābat Khān was also the person who not only founded the village of Shāhāpūr but built there a Jāmī' Mosque, which bears his name.³

The town of Tisgāon,⁴ which was founded by him during the reign of (Mirān) Husain Shāh II, and named Husainābād, possessed a number of monuments built by Śalābat Khān II, as will be clear from the fact that he had to take a special Qawlnāma from Jamāl Khān Mahdawī with a view to completing some of the buildings which he had left incomplete at Tisgāon. Of these the five Gates, which were probably the different entrances to the town and a Sarāi have survived. Of the other buildings only traces have remained.

Among Śalābat Khān's architectural contribution to the Deccan must be mentioned the Gateway of the Taltam fort,⁵ although it is quite probable that even the fort with the palace and the Dūdyā Tālāb and the Machhli Tālāb within it might have been actually constructed by him. It is, how-

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, pp. 705-706.

2. Mirikar, *Ahmadnagar chey Prāchīn Itihāsa* (अहमदनगरचे प्राचीन इतिहास, अहमदनगर १९१९), pp. 55-60.

3. *Bombay Gazetteer* XVII, p. 705; Mirikar, *loc. cit.*, p. 57; *Muzda-i-Ahmadnagar*, pt I, p. 82.

4. Briggs, Vol. III, wrongly reads this as *Tulegaon*, a town in Poona District. Relying upon Briggs, Campbell (in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 378) and Mirikar (*loc. cit.*, p. 57) state that Śalābat Khān also founded the town of Tulegaon. The Bombay edition of Ferishta as also the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* correctly give Tisgaon.

5. " . . . Taltam Fort is situated some ten miles west of Ajant, in the same range of hills which contains the Ghatotkach (Jinjala) caves. The fort has three gateways, and it is defended by a large number of bastions. The names of the gateways are: (1) The Baitālbāri Darwāza, facing the East; (2) the Jinjāla Darwāza, facing the South; and (3) the Jerundi Darwāza, facing the West. The area inside the fort is not very large, and the buildings situated therein are in a ruinous condition. The remains of a palace may be seen in the Northern part of the Fort. The palace walls are defended by four massive bastions, one of which has the figure of a tiger having four elephants under his paws, one elephant being under each paw. There are two tanks, styled the Dūdyā Tālāb (the Milk Pond) and the Machhli Tālāb (the Fish Pond), besides a large well, called the Mārūti Bā'oli. There is a mosque towards the east of the palace and an Idgāh towards the west of it. The latter building is at a considerable distance from the palace. The Murtaḍā Shāh's inscriptions are on the Jerundi Darwāza and the Aurangzeb inscription on the Baitālbāri Darwāza. The Taltam Fort is now called Vaisagarh and also 'Abbāsagarh' " *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-36, p. 20, footnotes.

ever, definite that the Gateway to the Taltam fort was built in 989/1581 by him, as the inscription on the Jarandī Darwāza of the fort clearly shows. The inscription in question has been published by Mr. G. Yazdānī,¹ in the *Ep. I. M.*, 1935-36, pp. 20-21, Plate XII (a) and (b) and reads thus :—

درعہد شاہ مر نضی کردہ بنا عمارت	دروازہ قلعه ملتم شہاب خان صلابت
تاریخ این عمارت از ہجرت رسالت	نہ صد گذشتہ بود ویر ہستاد نہ زیادت

Ṣalābat Khān II is also reported to have built the fort on the hill of Manjar-sumba in Aḥmadnagar, and constructed springs of fresh water and gardens.² It has been regarded as one of the most pleasant places in the world, and, according to Campbell,³ would make a fine health resort.

The account of Ṣalābat Khān's contribution to the architecture of the Deccan would be incomplete if we failed to mention the various tanks, water-ways, and channels that he constructed during his régime. The Bhātodi Talāo (or lake) was constructed by him and is still in good repair.⁴ It was probably his intention to carry water from the above lake to the town of Tisgāon,⁵ which was founded by him. Ṣalābat Khān was also responsible for digging the Shāhāpūr Channel,⁶ which has its source at foot of the hill known as Shāh Donger, on which is situated Ṣalābat Khān's Tomb. This channel joins the Farāḥ Bāgh (or Bhingār) Channel, which was dug by Ṣalābat Khān's State Engineer, Ni'mat Khān Samnānī, with a view to supplying water to the Bāgh-i-Farāḥ Bakhsh, and was repaired in 1876 at a cost of ten thousand rupees.⁷

Although Ṣalābat Khān has disappeared from our midst, his name will ever remain with us as that of one of the greatest men of Aḥmadnagar.

SHAIKH CHAND HUSAIN.

1 I am indebted to Mr. G. Yazdānī, ex-Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, for sending me photographs of the Taltam Fort and of the inscriptions carved on it, to which reference has been made.

2. Tabātabā, *loc. cit.*, p. 542; *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 728.

3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 728.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 713.

5. *Muzda-i-Aḥmadnagar*, pt. I, p. 82; Mirikar, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 672.



T. 1 — Fort, Aungmye District

AN ANONYMOUS ENGLISH-ARABIC FRAGMENT ON MUSIC

ONE of the sources of a minor character from which I have occasionally culled in my books on Arabian music is one which I have entitled the *Huth MS.*¹ It was acquired by me in 1923 in Bristol among a number of Oriental books, manuscripts, and papers which came from the library of Frederick Henry Huth of Bath. It is now in the Farmer Collection in the Library of the University of Glasgow and is worthy of attention as a whole if only in the hope that its authorship may be traced.

The manuscript comprises only two leaves and is written in English on 17th or 18th century paper, the construction having clearly marked features of being a literal translation from some Arabic work. The manuscript starts abruptly, the script beginning at the same distance from the left edge as the succeeding lines, which leads to the conjecture that it is not the beginning of the original treatise but is a fragment of a larger work.

The transliteration of Arabic words is quite unusual and is certainly not modern. Indeed, many examples of similitude with that of Meninski (17th century A.D.) can be seen. Although the style of the translator (following the Arabic rather slavishly it would seem) reveals a striking similarity to that of al-İşfahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr*, the passages cannot be traced in this work; but since the musicians mentioned all lived prior to the late 10th century the work is possibly one of the popular treatises mentioned in the *Fihrist* (Fann 3 of Maqāla 3).

I give the whole manuscript verbatim reserving all elucidations for the concluding commentary.

I.

THE TEXT

“AND Haesen the Naesyby, he mixed with all the best tale-tellers and he knew the lives of the musicians. He said that the singers in the days of idolatry were many and that they knew the ancient songs and stories but knew² the stops.

1. *History of Arabian Music* (1929), p. 17; *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (1931), I, 100.

2. A word is obliterated here. Perhaps the word is “not.”

And Ishak of Musul was told by his father, by Seeyat, by Jonos the Secretary, he said, there are eight notes and two long finger notes, except that the people of the country use other notes like the people of old. Then the finger melodies were collected out of the notes, some in the eight notes right through, and some in the long fingers.

And Omer bin Bane, he was not a player but only a singer, had little information of the tracts of the fingers, but his voice was good, and gifts of many kinds he received from the khaleefs. Then when he was the friend of Ibrahim, he wrote a book which was composed only part by him and part by Ibrahim. And he did not¹ the ancient rules, and the book was wrong on that account.

And sometimes they call the fingers by Arabian and Persian names. And they had other music called stops which come out of the fingers.

And now we will speak of the instruments of music. And the lute is the oldest and best of the instruments, and Moder found it. And Yaehya of Musul said that the lute has four strings, four sides, four parts, and four tied places. And Ishak and Zelzel and Berbud the Persian were the best of people of work upon this instrument. And the pandor came from the Saebyans who measured the earth, and so it was called the measured *tumbur*. And it has two strings or more, and it is made of a gourd by the peasantry who play the songs of idolatry upon it. And the *syng* is an instrument of strings. Khaleel says that it sounds like the bell of the drums. And Aesha sang to the Cæsars upon it. And the *mizher* is a lute with more strings, and the slave girls sang upon it in the days of idolatry. And the *rebab* is an instrument of the people of Khorasan and Khaleel says that the ancient Arabs sang their poem [s] to its voice. And the *tbal* and *duff* are used in war.....² the Arabs, and similarly the *mizmar*, which is the *ney* and the *gosba*....."

II

COMMENTARY

I do not think that there can be the slightest doubt that the above is a very literal translation from some Arabic treatise. It is so literal in some places that clarification is necessary, whilst most of the names are so truncated or so altered in their transliterated form that they are not easily recognized, and it is the purpose of this commentary to remove some of these obscurities.

1. Another obliteration, possibly covering the word "know."

2. The obliterated word is possibly "among."

"Haesen the Naesyby."—He may be identified with Hasan ibn Mūsā an-Naṣībī (d. c. 860 A.D.), the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* 'alā'l-Ḥurūf and the *Kitāb Mujarradāt al-Mughannīn*. See *al-Fihrist*, 145.

"Songs and stories."—An-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith (d. 624 A.D.) was one of the pre-Islamic poet-minstrels whose "songs and stories" were preferred by the Meccans to the revelations of the Prophet. Sūra, xxxi, 5-6.

"The stops."—This must refer to the frets (Dasātīn) on the finger-board of the lute and pandore. The term "stops" was used by 17th century (A.D.) English writers on music for "frets." The Arabs of the Jāhiliyah did not use frets until they adopted the Persian lute, when they also borrowed the Persian word Dasātīn.

"Ishak of Musul."—This was Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī (d. 850 A.D.), a prolific writer on music. See my *Sources of Arabian Music*, 16.

"Seeyat."—Properly Siyyāt, Abū Wahab 'Abdallāh ibn Wahab (d. 785 A.D.).

"Jonos the Secretary," is Yūnus al-Kātib or Yūnus ibn Sulaimān (d. c. 765), the author of the *Kitāb fi'l-Aghānī* and the *Kitāb an-Naghm*, both being the first books of their kind in Arabic. See *Aghānī*, IV, 113-14, and *al-Fihrist*, 145.

"Eight notes and two long finger notes."—These comprised the ten notes out of which the one-octave (al-bu'd alladhī bi'l-kull) Arabian scale was made up. Here is the fretting of the old Arabian lute ('ūd) showing these ten notes:

Nut (anf)	A.	—	==D.	—	—	G.
Sabbāba fret	B.	—	—	E.	—	—
Wustā fret	C.	—	—	F.	—	—
Binšir fret	C.	sharp	—	F.	sharp	—
Khinšir fret	D.	—	—	G.	—	—
		Bamm	Mathlath	Mathnā	Zir	
		string.	string.	string.	string.	

The Wustā notes were the two "long finger notes," the remainder being the "eight notes."

"Finger melodies" were the Aṣābī' (sing. Aṣba'), so frequently quoted in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of al-Iṣfahānī.

"Omer bin Bāna."—This was 'Amr ibn Bāna (d. 891 A.D.), the author of the *Kitāb Mujaḥḥad al-Aghānī* and the *Kitāb fi'l-Aghānī* mentioned in the great *Aghānī* (XIV, 50) and the *Fihrist*, 145. The "tracts," which he did not know, were the two divisions of the modes, something like our major and minor species, known as the *Majrātāin*. In fact the word "tract" is but a literal translation of *Majrā* (tract or duct), and the mediæval Latin musical term 'conductus' may have been derived originally from this source. That 'Amr ibn Bāna was not a skilled theorist in music although a good vocalist is confirmed by the *Aghānī* (*loc. cit.*).

"Ibrahim."—Doubtless this indicates Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 839), the author of the *Kitāb al-Ghinā'*. See *Fihrist*, 116. That he and 'Amr ibn Bāna collaborated in a book is not mentioned elsewhere.

"Arabian and Persian names."—It is likely that this means that the finger modes (*Aṣābī'*) had, even at this early period to which I have assumed that this fragment belongs, other names, such as the Arabic 'Ushshāq, 'Irāq, Ḥusainī, and the Persian Kuwāsht, Zankūla, Naurūz, which we do not find mentioned until the time of Ibn-Sīnā (d. 1037 A.D.).

"Other music called stops."—The stops, as we have seen elsewhere, refers to the *Dasātīn*, but we read in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (10th century) that the Persians also used certain modes or melodies called *Dastānāt*.

"Modar."—Here we have Almodad of the Old Testament, whom the Arabs called Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add, the inventor of the *Ḥudā'* or caravan song. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies*, VIII, 92. No mention is made elsewhere that he "found" the lute, a discovery which the Arabs attribute to Lamak.

"Yaehya of Musul" must be Yahyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Mausilī (9th century), mentioned in the *Kashf az-Zunūn* of Ḥājī Khalīfa as the author of (*Kitāb*) *al-Aghānī*, and elsewhere as having penned a *Kitāb al-'Ud wa'l-Malāhī*.

"Ishak and Zelzel and Berbud."—The first is the famous Ishāq al-Mausilī already mentioned, the greatest lutanist of his day. Zalzal (d. 791 A.D.) was an uncle of the latter's, and is placed by him in the forefront of lutanists, whilst in the *Iqd al-Farīd* it is said that "he was without an equal either before or after his time." (III, 190). Bārbad was the famous performer on the Persian lute (*Barbat*) in the days of Khusrāu Parwīz (d. 628 A.D.), the Sāsānid king.

"Measured tumbur."—Elsewhere (*Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, II, 34). I have shown that this must be the *Tunbūr Mīzānī* mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 237), also called the *Tunbūr Baghdādī*, as is confirmed by al-Fārābī (d. c. 950), who especially mentions its "Pagan frets" (*Dasātīn al-Jāhiliyya*) which facilitated the performance of the "songs of idolatry" (*Alḥān al-Jāhiliyya*). See D'Erlanger, *La Musique Arabe*, I, 227.

"Syng."—This is the *Şanj* of the Arabs (sometimes called the *Jank*) and the *Čang* of the Persians. Both were harps. That *Khaleel* or *al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad* (d. 791 A.D.) said that the *Şanj* was like the "bell of the drums" is a reference to the metal plate (actually plates) in the rim of the tambourine (*Duff*), as quoted by the author of the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (p. 237).

"Aesha."—Here we have the famous poet *al-A'shā Maimūn* (d. ca. 629 A.D.), who was nicknamed *aş-Şannājat al-'Arab*, but this latter may not actually refer to an instrument of the harp family but is rather an allusion to the fine rhythm of his verse, which, in music, would be emphasized by the *Şunūj*.

"Mizher."—Here we have a repetition of an old blunder that the *Mizhar* was a lute, as I have shown elsewhere. See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, (sub voce "*Duff*").

That the "*rebab*" was used by the ancient Arabs to accompany their poems is mentioned elsewhere. *Tbal* (*Ṭabl*), *Duff*, *Mizmār*, *ney* (*Nay*), and *gosba* (*Qaşaba*), are the well-known instruments of percussion and woodwind. It is worthy of note that neither the *Būq* nor the *Nafir* are mentioned among the instruments of battle, a circumstance which may throw some light on the early date of this interesting musical English-Arabic fragment.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

ON THE MARGIN:

THE ORIGINAL COMPILER OF AL-MUFADDALIYYĀT

WAS it that al-Mufaḍḍal, the so-far acknowledged compiler of the famous anthology of Arabic verse called *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* after him, only made a redaction, may be with his annotations, of some seventy or eighty pieces of poetry originally selected by a scion of the House of 'Alī, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (a brother of an-Nafs az-Zakiyya), and to them probably also added some fifty or forty pieces of his own choice a little later? Such is the question posed by Professor 'Abdul-'Azīz al-Maimanī of the Aligarh Muslim University in the course of a short note in Arabic made out quite recently, of which, in view of the high importance of the subject, an English translation is given below.

Prof. al-Maimanī says: "I have come across a tradition, hitherto quite unnoticed, which is handed down to us on the authority of four Shī'ite scholars, and purports to ascribe to al-Mufaḍḍal a confession that the original compilation of the greater part of the anthology as we have it today belonged not to himself but to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī). (1) It is related by Abu'l-Faraj in the *Maqāṭī' at-Ṭalibiyyīn* (Irān, 1307 H., p. 119; Najaf, p. 229) that Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh (who, following his brother, an-Nafs az-Zakiyya, led a revolt against the caliph al-Mansūr at Bākhmrā and was killed there in the year 145 H.) "put up with al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbī during the period of his abscondence. Al-Mufaḍḍal, the narrator adds, was a Zaidite. Ibrāhīm said (to al-Mufaḍḍal), 'Bring me some of your books so that I may read them because I feel bored when you go out (to your estate). So he brought to him some (collection) of the poetry of the Arabs out of which Ibrāhīm selected a few odes and transcribed them separately in book. Al-Mufaḍḍal says, 'So when Ibrāhīm was killed, I brought out the odes which the people ascribed to me. It is these odse, seventy in number, which are known as the *Ikhtiyār-ul-Mufaḍḍal*. Thereafter, I added to them and completed the number 120.....' There is another similar tradition in the same source (Irān, p. 131; Najaf, p. 251) which is also quoted by Ibn-Abi'l-Ḥadīd (I, 324). (2) Quoting

from the *Fawā'id* of *an-Najīrāmī*¹, written in his own handwriting, as-Suyūfī records in *al-Muzhir* (ed. 1282 H., II, 165; 1325 H., II, 202) Al-'Abbās b. Bakkār ad-Dabbī says: "I said to al-Mufaḍḍal, 'How good your selection of the verses is! I wish you could give us some more of your selections. He replied: "By Allāh this selection is not mine. As a matter of fact, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh hid with me.....'" The report only mentions that Ibrāhīm had marked the odes selected by him and not that he had transcribed them separately as is given in the previous tradition.

This report is also recorded with variation by Ibn al-Muhanna al-Ḥasanī (ob. 828 H.) in the *'Umdat-ūṭ-Ṭālib* (Bombay, 1318 H., p. 85). It says that Ibrāhīm marked eighty odes which were brought out by al-Mufaḍḍal after his murder. Later on the odes were read out to al-Aṣma'ī who added to them."

Prof. al-Maimanī continues: "Let us now review in the light of the above-mentioned tradition the better-known reports recorded by al-Qālī, al-Marzūqī and Ibn an-Nadīm on the subject. According to the reports of al-Qālī (*Dhail al-Amālī*, p. 131/130; cf. also comments thereon, *Dhail al-La'ālī*, p. 61) and al-Marzūqī (Berlin MS., fol. 5a), al-Mufaḍḍal brought out only eighty (the number 'thalāthīna' occurring in the latter source being undoubtedly an error for 'thamānīna') odes for al-Mahdī to which forty more were added when they were read out to al-Aṣma'ī, thus raising the number to 120. In the commentary of at-Tabrizī of which I have seen several MSS. in Istanbul and Egypt, the number of *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* is 124. The author of the *Fihrist* puts the number at 128 and adds that the number and order of the poems often vary according to the difference in transmission and are only authentic in the version of Ibn al-'Arabī.

"It will be seen that from all the conflicting reports quoted above there emerges one agreed point which is that, unlike the *Aṣma'īyyāt*, the Collection of al-Mufaḍḍal is preserved for us in its entirety in the recensions of al-Anbārī, al-Marzūqī and at-Tabrizī. Further it can be taken as almost certain that in the first instance al-Mufaḍḍal brought out only eighty poems which were originally selected and compiled by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh in circumstances reminiscent of the compilation of the *Ḥamāsa* by Abū-Tammām at a later time. These eighty pieces stood at the head of the larger collection which came to be known as *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* but the order might have been disturbed in the course of transmission to us." (*Vide* the words of Ibn an-Nadīm, quoted above).

"There only remains the all-important question as to who made the subsequent additions, some forty pieces, included in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, al-Mufaḍḍal or al-Aṣma'ī? Obviously the explicit assertion contained

1. Two men bearing the surname 'an-Najīrāmī' are known to us: (1) Abū'l-Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the author of the *Aimān-u'l-'Arab*, noticed in *al-Udabā'* and *al-Bughya*, p. 181, and (2) his pupil's pupil, Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf, noticed in *al-Bughya*, p. 425. The author of the *Fawā'id* is probably the former one

in the report of Abu'l-Faraj militates against the contention of my friend, Dr. S. M. Husain, that the additions must be ascribed to al-Aṣma'ī, thus strengthening the contrary view originally taken by Sir Charles Lyall."¹

"Anyhow," asks Prof. al-Maimanī in conclusion, "is it not meet that the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* be renamed *al-Ibrāhimiyyāt*, *Ikhtiyāru-Ibrāhīm-wa-Ṣan'at-u'l-Mufaḍḍal*² after the name of its original compiler just in the same way as the other collection has been called *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* despite the contributions made to it by several scholars, known as well as unknown?"

S. M. Y.

1. The report of al-Qālī, referred to above, mentions that the number of *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* increased enormously as a result of contributions made by al-Aṣma'ī's pupils. Ahlward's edition (based on the Kuprulu MS., from which have been transcribed the Vienna MS. and the copy of *ash-Shinqīṭī* in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya) comprises 77 pieces while the second part of the *Ikhtiyārain* contains 72 additions plus 2 found in the MS of the British Museum. Besides the poems lost in the first part of the *Ikhtiyārain*, there are a number of verses, pointed out by me in the *Dhailu'l-La'ālī* and referred to by Dr. S. M. Husain in the *Introduction to Ancient Arabic Odes*, p. 200, which are mentioned as part of *al-Aṣma'iyyāt* but are not to be found in any of these editions.

2. It will be remembered that al-Mufaḍḍal is also reported to have commented on the verses, as it is mentioned by al-Anbārī in several places and has been pointed out by me in the *Iqḍā al-Khuzāna*.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Fifth Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities.

DURING the past few years the Osmania University has by its incessant efforts at gathering eminent scholars and educationists for solving intricate questions of advanced knowledge attracted the attention of the learned world. Great scholars, educationists, literary and scientific societies have gathered under the roof of this great monument of culture and learning in order to lay down policies for the post-war education. In December 1943, the fifth session of the Quinquennial Conference of the Universities of India held under the Presidentship of Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, was inaugurated by His Excellency the President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council. Opening the session His Excellency the Nawab of Chhatari, President of the Executive Council, conveyed H.E.H. the Nizam's gracious message of welcome to the delegates of the Conference. In his presidential speech Sir S. Radha Krishnan dealing with future policy of all-India education pointed out, "We need a re-education of human nature and a reorganization of our political and economic institutions. If victory is not to prove a mockery, if the crisis before which civilization stands is to be tided over, if the forces of evil and retrogression which have caused wars are not to appear in other forms in other lands, fundamental changes are required in the structure and spirit of society." Sir S. Radha Krishnan also referred to the Osmania University and recalled it as a great University whose progress was being watched with the utmost sympathy and interest. We hope that this great University will set an example and lead the way for the advancement of knowledge over the country.

It is gratifying to note that at this distinguished gathering of the educationists, the importance of Islam has been duly observed and the following resolutions bearing upon Islamic studies have been passed.

1. "This Conference recommends to the Universities that provision be made for the study of Muslim philosophy, Indian philosophy and Muslim history as optional subjects for graduate and post-graduate courses."

2. The Conference recommends to the Universities to give to their activities an ethical, social, and spiritual outlook."

Convocation of the Osmania University.

This year the Convocation ceremony of the Osmania University was distinguished from the previous years in that the great public leader Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was made a member of the Fraternity of the Osmania graduates and was awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. Dr. C. Rajagopalachari delivered the Convocation Address and said: "The Osmania University is unique in all India in that the highest scientific education as well as the teaching of the Humanities are done through an Indian Language, the rich joint product of Muslim and Hindu contact." Addressing the graduates, he said: "Yours is an achievement of which not only you but all India should be proud. The only language that can claim to be an all-India language is Hindustani and that is the medium of instruction in this University. Yours then is the true Vidyapith, the Swadeshi University of all India." Referring to the complicated problem of introducing a mother-tongue other than Urdu in the secondary stage of Hyderabad educational machinery, Dr. C. Rajagopalachari justly observed, "If up to the last point in secondary school, the instruction should be given through the medium of the mother-tongue other than Urdu, it may be feared that a large body of the students would be ill-equipped for the University course to which they may legitimately aspire. If the Government of Hyderabad made the apparently good rule that in the Kannada, Telugu and Marathi areas secondary education shall be imparted through these languages respectively, what would the parents of the best boys and girls say as to the necessary consequence of this, viz., that they would be practically excluded from higher courses available in the Osmania University and from the chances in life open to the Osmania graduates."

Oriental Publication Bureau.

Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif is as usual engaged with the revival of the culture of Islam. The following works have just come out of the press and will be soon available to the public at large.

1. مسند ابی عوانه Vol. II: A note about this work has already been published in October, 1943, issue of this Journal. This part deals with the subject of prayer.

2. التاريخ الكبير للإمام بخارى: This history consists of four volumes and each of them is divided into two parts. This is the second part of the first volume.

3. مختارات لابن هبل المتوفى سنة ٥٦١ هـ Vol. II: This well-known work on the science of Arabic medicine is divided into three parts. The first part deals

with general principles, second with medicaments and third with the treatment. This work is published after its collation with a number of MSS. Besides these works, the following dissertations have been published. Except Nos. 4 and 5, all these valuable works have been dedicated to the name of the great savant al-Bīrūnī.

- (١) رسالة الاعداد والاعراب للإمام أبي الحسن كوشيا رابن لبيان الجبلى (في القرن الخامس)
- (٢) رسالة جدول الدقائق لأبي نصر منصور بن علي بن عراق بولي أمير المؤمنين
- (٣) رسالة جدول تقويم لأبي نصر منصور بن علي بن عراق
- (٤) رسالة الاضطراب لعلامة ابراهيم بن سنان المتوفى سنة ٥٣٣٥ هـ
- (٥) مقالة في رسم القنوط الثلاثة للعلامة ابراهيم بن سنان بن ثابت المتوفى سنة ٥٣٣٥ هـ
- (٦) رسالة أبي الوفاء محمد بن محمد البوزجاني المتوفى سنة ٥٣٤٦ هـ في افانمة البرهان على الدائر من الفلك

Al-Iḥyā'ul-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniya.

It is regrettable that all the manuscripts announced to have been prepared by this society in the January 1942, issue of this Journal, could not be published up till now owing to the war. But thanks to the efforts of this learned body, the following MSS. have been secured for preparing them for publication and some of them are already under collation :—

- (١) نعيم الادلة للإمام أبي زيد الدبوسي
- (٢) شرح الصدر الشهيد لكتاب ادب القاضي للإمام أبي بكر احمد الخفاف
- (٣) الشروط الصغير للإمام الطحاوي
- (٤) اصول الجصاص لأبي بكر احمد بن علي الرازي المسمى بالفصول
- (٥) الايثار في روائع الآثار للحافظ ابن حجر الهيتمي
- (٦) مسند الامام الاعظم للإمام أبي محمد عبدالله بن محمد الحارثي البخاري
- (٧) مسند الامام الاعظم للإمام أبي خسرو البلخي
- (٨) اخبار أبي حنيفة واصحابه للإمام أبي عبدالله الصيمري

DECCAN

Some Tenets of Islam.

S. Muḥammad Husayan Nainar contributed one monograph on *Some Tenets of Islam* to the *Annals of Oriental Research*, University of Madras. He intends to point out to the reader what Islam has to say on these points, viz., Islam. Its Significance, Sectarianism condemned, Creed of Islam, Idea of Brotherhood, Exhortation to Unity, Exclusiveness not approved, Code of Islam, Responsibility of Man, Service to fellow-beings, Work and

Charity, Duty of Man, Toleration. He has attempted to find out an answer to these topics from the teachings of the Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet. No better expression can be given to these ideas than the original language in which they have been expressed, but as the object is to approach all those who are not acquainted with Arabic, they are conveyed in English without further attempting to paraphrase them.

Migration of Paper from China to India.

Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, publishes an important paper on this heading in the *Paper Making as Cottage Industry*. In the beginning he has divided his thesis into six points. One of these is this: 'The introduction of paper is only due to the Muhammadans.' Then he proceeds with the history of the paper in the East from the very early times and thus comes to the period of 751, A.D. where he quotes from the Encyclopædia Britannica thus. 'We are told that in 751 A.D. Samarkand, then in charge of an Arab governor, was attacked by the Chinese. The governor repelled the attack of the Chinese and pursued them, making prisoner of some Chinese, who knew the art of making paper. These prisoners imparted the art to their Arab masters and in this manner the Arabs began to manufacture paper.' Sulaimān (851 A.D.), the Arab geographer refers to the Chinese use of paper for sanitary purposes. Here for further information it will suffice to remark that the late Prof. M. Jamīlū'r-Rahmān of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, contributed a detailed paper under the heading of *Qirtās aur uska Isti'māl*—Papyrus and its use, to the *Majmu'a-Taḥqīqāt-i-'Ilmiya, Jāmi'a Osmania*, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1940, pp. 1-25. He has ably discussed all pros and cons of the problem. As far as India is concerned, it is also noted here with confidence that the Deccan stands first where at Daulatabad the Musalmans from the very early days began to manufacture paper and even to this day there is one small village, which owing to the manufacture of paper here, is named Kaghzipura, town of paper.

Persian Version of the Mahabharata.

The fifth volume of the *Bulletin* of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, is devoted to the memory of the late Dr. Sukhtankar, who died last year (Islamic Culture, July 1943, p. 338), with a view to celebrate his first anniversary. The staff and scholars of the Deccan College have contributed articles on the themes connected with the Great Epic of India, i.e., *Mahabharata*. Prof. C. H. Shaikh writes on the *Translations of the Mahabharata into Arabic and Persian*. He has fully discussed its Persian version at Akbar's court and appended the Persian text of Abu'l-Faḍl's introduction to this translation of the *Mahabharata* along with its English translation. Dr. Chaghatai's article on the *Illustrated Edition*

of the *Razm Nāmā* (Persian Version of the *Mahabharata* at Akbar's Court) provides a description of the imperial illustrated edition of the same which was prepared for Akbar and furnishes a brief account of Akbar's patronage of the art of painting. He asserts that the illustrations of the *Razm Nāmā* can claim to be a faithful picture of Akbar's India in many respects. It also consists of six full-page illustrations from a contemporary manuscript. He has appended four appendices:—*a.* List of Mughal or Indo-Persian Miniature-painters; *b.* The Index of the Persian Version; *c.* Statement showing the contents of Persian manuscripts of the *Razm Nāmā* in various collections; *d.* List of books translated into Persian from Sanskrit at Akbar's court.

Dastūr-ul-Atibbā' of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta.

Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta is well known for his compendious historical work, the *Gulzār-i-Ibrāhīmī*, written in the Deccan. He had also composed one work on medicine known as *Dastūr-ul-Atibbā*. One of its MSS. has recently been brought to light from the collection of the Gujrat Vernacular Society of Ahmadabad. The writer of this note (Ma'ārif, Dec. 1943, pp. 446-52) asserts that Muḥammad Qāsim mentions in its introduction that he had come to Ahmednagar from Astarabad at the court of Murtadā Nizām Shāh where he composed this work on medicine. The MSS. of this work of Firishta are very common (Kutub Khana Asafiya, State Library, Hyderabad-Dn. List, V. ii, pp. 950, No. 407) from which this information is not available. Moreover, the same work of Firishta has already been published at Amritsar in 1901 (vide *Tārīkh*, ed. by S. Shamsullāh Qādri. Vol. I, pts. ii-iii, p. 17).

Sources of the Mir'at-i-Sikandari.

The *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* by Shaikh Sikandar, one of the courtiers of Jahāngīr, is described by Dr. M. A. Chaghatai in the recent issue of the Journal of the Gujrat Research Society, Bombay. He has particularly based his thesis on the sources of this important history dealing with the Sultāns of Gujrat (1403-1572 A.D.). Most of these sources are not now-a-days available.

Marrakesh and Rabāt.

Mr. Ghulām Yazdāni contributed an illustrated article to the latest issue of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, under the title of *Twenty Days in Marrakesh and Rabāt*. In 1923,

by the generous help of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government Mr. Yazdāni was able to devote three months to the study of Arab monuments in North Africa. During this period Marrakesh caught his imagination the more. His contribution is not only a sort of recollections of an archæologist but also full of other cultural aspects of Islam. He has given a brief history of the place which is very interesting. Particularly as to the history of the Almohades (*Unitarians*) he says: "The Almohades, like their predecessors, were in the beginning a religious community and the history of Morocco to a large extent is the history of the development and variation of Islamic doctrine in that country. The Almohades were strict followers of the Malakites school and considered the allegorical interpretation of the verses of the *Qur'ān* as heresy. Ibn-Tumart, the founder of the Almohades group of the religious thinkers, had travelled extensively in the Middle East and other countries and was familiar not only with the view of al-Ghazali and the Ash'arite, but had also studied the writings of the Spanish Zāharite, Ibn-Hazm." Mr. Yazdāni traces an up-to-date history in brief, but in the domain of archæology he describes the minaret of the Kutubiya Mosque of Marrakesh which occupies a dominating position. The original mosque was founded by 'Abdu'l-Mo'min (1123-63 A.D.). The other monument of Marrakesh described by him is the so-called Madrasa of Abū-Yūsuf built in 1343. He has also appended Arabic inscriptions with their English translations which are found on the graves in the courtyard of the Madrasa. The next part of his article concerns Rabāt, styled *Ribāt al-Faṭḥ*. The description of the Great Mosque of Rabāt, called *Masjid Ḥassān* or *Burj Ḥassān*, is full of useful informations. In one place, Mr. Yazdāni says: "A week's stay in Marrakesh among such surroundings has now become a dream, but a dream which has left deeper impression upon my mind regarding the spirit and teachings of Islam than hitherto made by the study of any historical text, or by attendance at any religious sermon."

Tājū'd-Dīn Fīrōz and the Synthesis of Bahmani Culture.

The establishment of the first Muslim kingdom in the Deccan under the name of the Bahmanides started from Hasan Bahmani in A.H. 748/1347, A.D. Since then the Deccan had become independent of the central Delhi kingdom even in the lifetime of Muḥammad Tughluq, but it was not so fully acknowledged and known outside till Tājū'd-Dīn Fīrōz occupied the throne in 800 A.H./1397, A.D. Prof. H.K. Sherwāni's account of this illustrious ruler in the *New Indian Antiquary* is full of all details of his period and he has ably based his account on authentic sources. Particularly in the domain of archæology of the Deccan of this period, Prof. Sherwāni's contribution contains very valuable data. A similar contribution on Sultān Fīrōz by M. A. Majīd Siddiqi, in the *Majmu'a-Maqālāt-i-'Ilmiya*, No. 5, Hyderabad Academy, is also worth studying.

Progress of Urdu.

The Urdu Conference, held at Kalikat (Malabar) by the end of the last year, was a special feature in the development of Urdu language. It was presided over by Maulvi 'Abdul-Ḥaq. His presidential address contains more of Muslim cultural history of the place than of the expansion of Urdu in Malabar. According to Maulvi 'Abdul-Ḥaq this important part of India from Muslim point of view is not so well-known by the Muslims of India at large. The main fault lies in the non-complying of one condition ; that the language of the people of this part of India is not common with that of other parts of India. Simply to achieve this end the education in Urdu language by starting schools was essential. Maulvi 'Abdul-Ḥaq Ṣāhib traced the early history of the place and its relations with Arabia through trade. In this respect he based his information on the *Tuhfat-ul-Mujāhidīn* of Shaikh Zainu'd-Dīn. He has also given a brief account of the hostile attitude of the Portuguese towards Muslims, who had a hatred for the Muslims from the very beginning, although they owed a great deal to Musalmāns. It was due to one Arab mariner, Aḥmad bin Mājid, who had steered the ship of Vasco de Gama to India. Maulvi 'Abdul-Ḥaq exhorted the citizens of Malabar to learn Urdu which would give them a means of communication.

At Nagpur the All-India Urdu Conference attracted people from far and near. Nawab Ṣadr Yār Jang Bahādur Ḥabību'r-Raḥmān Khān Sherwānī gave a brief account of the establishment of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu in his presidential address since its inception in 1903 at Delhi, when Maulana Shiblī Nu'mānī was selected its first Hon. Secretary. According to him it was founded at a place which could be regarded as the centre and home of Urdu. He also gave some account of the educational activities of the Central Provinces. Seventeen resolutions were passed at this session and there was also an All-India Urdu Women's Conference which was presided over by Prof. Kurshid Ara Begum, who emphasised the need of Urdu education among the women of the Central Provinces.

The Bangalore Urdu Society held its first meeting. Principal Dr. M. Bazlu'r-Raḥman, Ismā'il Yūsuf College, Bombay, spoke on *Educational Needs of the Musalmans*. His speech was mostly based on his own personal experiments and observations. Prof. N. A. Nadvi dealt with many important problems of Urdu language, and Prof. A. Q. Sarwari gave a short account of the development of Urdu in Mysore.

Dārā Shikoh.

In continuation of the note appearing in the last issue of the *Islamic Culture* on *Dārā Shikoh* (p. 88) it will also interest the readers to know that the libraries and collections in the Deccan possess very valuable

treasures which are not found anywhere else. Fortunately one MS. of the *Commentary on Diwān-i-Hāfiz* (in the Kutub Khāna Āṣafiya State Library, Hyderabad-Deccan, List V. i, pp. 738-39, No. 474), by one 'Abdullāh known as 'Ubaidullāh, is calligraphed by the Prince Dārā Shikoh, who has put his name at its end thus :

تحریر فی التاريخ ہفدہم صفر سنہ ۱۰۹۰

کاتب الحروف فقیر حقیر دار اشکوہ

مرید سید آدم رسول نما

ساکن ماوراء النہر

'Written on 17th Şafar in the 19th regnal year (of Shāh Jahān) by the calligraphist, the most humble, Dārā Shikoh, disciple of Sayyid Adam Rasūl Numā, a native of Māwarā'u'n-Nahr.'

So far our knowledge as regards Dārā Shikoh's interest in mysticism seems very limited for which it requires a further critical study. The mention of Sayyid Rasūl Numā is found in the *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā* of Mufti Ghulām Sarwar (Vol. I, pp. 630-32). It also records that this saint came to Lahore in 1052 A.H./1642 A.D., with a large number of Afghans during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

M. A. C.

DELHI

Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdū.

THIS society has been working successfully under the efficient leadership of its secretary Maulvī 'Abdul-Haq. It has, according to its latest report, 266 branches and runs 62 Urdu schools in various parts of this sub-continent and a college for teaching Urdu in Delhi. It has rendered great service to the Urdu language by publishing translations of some celebrated and authoritative books. This tradition has been preserved in spite of great difficulties caused by the war, even during the last few years. The following are some of the more important items appearing on the list :—

- (i) *Kitāb-u'l-Hind* by al-Bīrūnī, now completed.
- (ii) *Alf-Lailah-wa-Lailah*, three volumes have now been published
- (iii) Plutarch's *Times*, first volume has been published.
- (iv) *Hikāyāt-i-Aghāni*, first volume.
- (v) *Māndū*, Mr. G. Yazdāni's well-known book on this deserted city.
- (vi) *Akhbar-i-Majmū'* a history of Muslim Spain.

The following are some of the more important original works published by the *Anjuman* :

(i) *Adabiyāt-i-Fārsī men Hindū'on kā Hīṣṣah* (the Share of the Hindus in the Literary Output of India) by Dr. 'Abdullāh ;

(ii) *Tanqīd-i-Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam*, a learned commentary on Shibli's classical work by Professor Maḥmūd Shīrānī which adds greatly to our knowledge of the history of Persian literature besides removing certain erroneous conceptions ;

(iii) *Firdawsī par Chār Maqālē* by the same author who throws a great light on the great epic poet and particularly on the myth of his writing a poem vilifying Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznah ;

and popular books on Biology, Botany, Banking and Buddhism.

The society has also published the *Dīwān* of the famous poet Naẓīr Akbarābādī which has been edited by Mīrzā Farḥatullāh Bēg.

The total number of publications for the year 1942 number 20 volumes of 6,500 pages, which is no mean record.

Some of the books under preparation are :

(a) Translations of (i) Dante's *Divine Comedy*,

(ii) Barthold's *Islamic Civilization*.

(b) A summary in Urdu of 'Awfī's famous *Jawāmi'-u'l-Hikāyāt*.

(c) A summary and criticism of *Prithvī Rāj Rāsa* of Chānd Barda'ī by Professor Maḥmūd Shīrānī and a critical edition of *Nawādir-ul-Alfāz* considered to be the oldest dictionary in Urdu.

The society's quarterly *Urdu* has maintained its usually high standard ; the last number has three good articles, one on the new tendencies in Urdu literature, another on certain historical faults which have crept into the errors of some well-known Urdu writers and the third on the Urdu literature of the 13th century A.H. Similarly *Science*, a monthly journal, and the popular bi-weekly *Hamārī Zabān* have been doing excellent work.

Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifīn.

The literary organ of this body, the *Burhān* has kept up its standard. It has recently concentrated much of its attention to sociological problems in Islam and has published two articles : one under the caption *Islāmi Ma'āshyāt* and the other on *Islām men Dawlat wa Iflās kā Tawāzun*. Another article discusses various Urdu translations of the *Qur'ān*. It is regrettable that a journal of the standard of *Burhān* should have published an uncritical article on Maulānā Abul-Kalām Āzād's writings, which has nothing but fulsome adulation.

An Islamic History Week.

The Historical Society of Anglo-Arabic College organized an Islamic History Week which in spite of bad weather, drew crowded audience. Some papers attained a good standard; the most notable contribution was the paper on the social conditions in the golden age of the Abbasids by Maulvi Sa'id Ahmad of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The Anglo-Arabic College is ideally situated for extension lectures on Islamic subjects and, it is hoped, will hold such weeks in the coming years. A little more prudence and elaborate planning could greatly enhance the utility of such functions.

A Muslim Poet of Hindi.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar, M.A., M.O.L., head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Delhi, has recently published *Pem Prakāsh* which is a collection of the Hindi poems of Ḥadrat Shāh Saiyid Barkatu'llah, a renowned saint of the historical town of Marehra, now in the Etah district of the United Provinces. The saint used *Pemī* and 'Ishqī as, his *nom de plume* in Hindi and Persian poems respectively. According to his Persian *Dīwān*, he was born in 1070 A.H.; Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād records in his *Ma'āthir-i-Kirām* that the saint died in 1142 A.H. Āzād also mentions that Saiyid Shāh Barkatu'llah wrote Hindi poems and that his Hindi verses are included in his *Pem Prakāsh*. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar's edition is based on a unique manuscript which has come into his possession as a sacred legacy from his ancestors. The manuscript is called *Majmū'ah-i-Barakātī* and has the saint's Persian and Hindi poems in a single volume. The editor was able to collate the Persian poems with a lithograph copy in possession of Saiyid Muḥammad Aḥsan, Assistant Registrar, Muslim University, Aligarh, and a descendant of the saint. But *Pem Prakāsh* seems to have been saved for posterity only through the manuscript in possession of the editor. The Hindi section of this volume has the title of the book *Pem Prakāsh* in the beginning and a colophon saying that the *Risālah Pem Prakāsh* comes to an end there. This book was finished by the author in 1109 A.H. in the reign of Aurangzib. The scribe of the manuscript on which this edition is based is the poet's disciple Ḥusain Bairāgī. The Mahamahopadhyaya's edition gives the text-book in Persian and Devanagiri scripts; Ḥusain Bairāgī's script is only in Persian characters. The saint also wrote (i) a *Tarjī'-band*, (ii) a *Dīwān*, (iii) *Mathnavī Riyād-i-'Ishq*, (iv) *Risālah Chahār Anwā'*, (v) *Risālah Sawāl wa Jawāb*, (vi) *Naṣā'ih*, and (vii) *Risālah 'Awārif-Hindī*. All these works have "love divine" for their topic and deal with various aspects of mysticism. About the quantity of poetry in *Pem Prakāsh* the learned editor says:

"Indeed the *Pem Prakāsh*, now brought to light for the first time, is the richest treasure of the mystic poetry in Hindi; and all Ṣūfī poetry

in Hindī, known to this day, pales in splendour before its light. In the freshness and vigour of thought, in exuberance of a rich feeling and the forceful imagery, in the happy choice of words and delightful turns of expression and poetic excellences, and above all, in that deep spiritual fervour which makes imagination a reality, our poet in the *Pem Prakāsh* stands out high and supreme! Each of the *Kabīts* is a polished gem of poetry, and each *Dohā* a string of radiant pearls. Our poet's command over the Hindi language is so perfect that he is able to express the most obtruse philosophical ideas, with perfect ease, in living Hindi speech taken from the mouths of the people....."

This is a high tribute from a competent scholar who is familiar with the works of Kabīr, Dādu and other great poets of the Bhakti school and who is conversant with the beauties of Tulsī Dāsa and 'Abd-u'r-Raḥīm.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Lachhmi Dhar's edition has a fascinating introduction, explanatory and critical notes and various appendices. The editor has earned the gratitude of all lovers of mystic poetry for bringing this jewel to light, though one cannot help wishing that the get-up ought to have been worthy of the excellence of the book. For this probably the war is responsible.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

The Shibli Academy.

The Urdu literature has been greatly enriched by the publication of *Hayāt-i-Shibli* (Life of Shibli), from the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. This voluminous work, consisting of 847 pages, has been written in a scholarly, forcible and delightful style by Maulana Shibli's closest pupil, Maulana Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvi. It begins with a very admirable review of the promotion of learning in the eastern part of the United Provinces, and then there follows the description of the chequered and eventful biography of Maulana Shibli, who was a towering personality of his age. The details of his life as a man of letters, educationist, teacher, publicist, leader, and reformer have been described with a minuteness worthy of Boswell. This biography will ever remain a monumental work in Urdu literature, for it may also be read with interest as a history of the literary, educational, religious, and political activities of the Muslims of India from the post-Mutiny period till the second decade of the twentieth century A.D. Its second volume, which will deal with Maulana Shibli's literary contributions, is in preparation.

The Shibli Academy has also brought out *Tārīkh-e-Daulat Uthmāniya*, Vol. II (History of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. II), which covers in 468 pages Chronicles of Turkey from 1808 to 1919 A.D. The latter part of

The book deals chiefly with the administration, education, literature, culture, civilization, society, and morals of the period. This will be followed by another volume of the survey of modern Turkey.

The monthly journal of the Shibli Academy, the *Ma'ārif* has, in a series of much appreciated articles, been making a critical study of the book *Tārīkh-i-Afkār-wa'-Siyāsīyāt-i-Islāmi* (History of Islamic Politics and Thoughts) by A.W. Khan of Lucknow. The author of this work tried to analyse the changes and consequences of the religious, political, and intellectual developments of the Muslims of the world during the last thirteen hundred years. But in this analysis he erred in making historical researches and failed in interpreting Islamic Shari'at, which led him to cast sad reflections on the deeds and achievements of most of the Muslim rulers, reformers, scholars and Šūfis. Shāh Mo'inuddīn Ahmad, a Fellow of Shibli Academy, in the above articles, has very remarkably sifted the errors of this book, and has at the same time presented the real picture of the currents and cross-currents of political and religious history of Islam during the various centuries. Other noteworthy articles of the *Ma'ārif*, published during the last three months are the following: (1) *Imām Abul-Hasan Ash'arī* : It deals with the life and the works of the well-known Ash'arite leader of the third century A.H. It also discusses in detail the reason of Imām Abul-Hasan's secession from the group of the Mu'tazilite theologians. The writer of the article believes that most of his dogmas quoted by Ash'arite writers are not based on his genuine faith, for they have been introduced only for the sake of scholastic discussions. The Imām did not really differ from the Sunni school of theology, (2) *Tib-e-Firishta* : This article throws light on one of the neglected works of the famous historian of the Muslim period of India, namely, Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta. The *Tib-e-Firishta* entitled also as *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Qasimī*, is a work on medicine compiled by Firishta for Murtada Nizām Shāh I of Bijapur, who died in 996 A.D., (3) *Ibn Manzūr Afriqī and a Glance on his Lisān'ul 'Arab*." It treats with the life of the African lexicographer, giving importance to his compilation *Lisān'ul-Arab* which is regarded as the most standard and exhaustive Arabic lexicon. ' *Two oldest Urdu Books of Delhi*: In this article the writer has tried to show that the *Mathnavi Wāqī'āt-i-Imāmiya* compiled by Shāh Ghulām Rasūl in 938 A.H. and *Dīwān Mun'am* of Tajawar (Alwar State), compiled by Shāh Muḥammad Ashraf Mun'am at about the same period, may be said to be the oldest works in Urdu literature, (4) *Why there is Sadness in Life* : It is a philosophical study of life in the light of the Holy Qur'ān.

The reconstituted Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, has resumed its work vigorously. In order to make the work attractive, the Academy has created a special fund for the award of prizes to authors. Twelve prizes of Rs. 1,200 each for works in creative literature had been announced before and it has also been decided to allot the preparation of nearly twenty-five other works on literary criticism, history, biography, and scientific

subjects to authors who would be paid suitable honoraria for their labours. The Academy is also trying to revive its annual conference at which writers of all Indian languages could meet together for exchange of views on various subjects.

The quarterly journal of the Academy, *The Hindustani*, has published the following articles in its January Number: (1) *Soviet Literature of the Central Asiatic Nations*, (2) 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān Khānān's *Hindi Poetry*, (3) *Theory of Life*, (4) *Nāfa'is, ul-Lughāt* which is a Hindustani lexicon compiled by Uḥud'uddin Bilgrami in 1253 A.D.

The illustrious Urdu writer, Mr. Enayatullah, B.A. (Alig.), died on 22nd October 1943 at Dehradun, where he had settled after retiring from the post of Nazim, Dār-ut-Tarjuma, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan. He began his literary career by translating into Urdu T. W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam* at Sir Sayyid Aḥmed Khan's instance, after which he developed a wonderful capacity of rendering English classics into his mother-tongue. His name will ever be cherished as the greatest and the most meritorious translator of Urdu literature. He translated about sixty-five English books into Urdu some of which are *Constantine* by John B. Firth, *Greek Imperialism* by William Scott Fergusson; *Timur* by Harold Lamb, *Chingiz Khān* by H. Lamb, *Spanish Islam* by F. G. Stokes, and a good number of the works of Shakespeare and Rider Haggard. His '*Historical Geography of Spain*' will always remain the most precious treasure of the Urdu literature. The *magnum opus* of his works is his translations of Sir Henry Howorth's *History of Mongols* in 4 volumes, which are still unpublished.

The twenty-sixth volume of the *Catalogue* of the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Public Library, Patna, is now in the press. It consists of about two hundred manuscripts included in eighteen volumes of mixed contents. The following manuscripts deserve special notice:

(1) A valuable and considerably old copy of Ibn-Ḥājib's (d. 646 A.H.) *al-Imālī* الإمالي consisting of his lectures on various topics of grammar, philology, and literature; (2) مفتاح الغيب A very rare and valuable copy of an authoritative gloss by Ṣadr'uddin al Qaunvi (d. 672 A.H.) on some difficult passages of his own commentary on سورة فاتحه entitled كتاب التوحيد الاعظم المبلغ من لا يعلم الى رتب من يعلم; (3) اعجاز البيان في كشف بعض اسرار القرآن by Ṣafi'uddin, a great Sūfi of Yemen (d. 665 A.H.). It is a rare copy of a mystical work dealing with the attributes of God, prayers, piety, sermon and various other points connected with Sūfism; (4) بلوغ العرب في لطائف الادب. It is a work on ethics consisting of moral precepts and instructions by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Maqri; (5) A complete *Diwān* of Muḥammad bin Nūr'uddin bin Muḥammad of Damascus, containing lyrical poems, Qaṣīdas, Muwashshahāt, and other forms of verse composition. The poet died in 1065 A.H. and the manuscript is

dated 1074 A.H.; (6) ابن حجر الهيتمي by Abu-Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh. It is a composition on the life and works of ابن حجر الهيتمي throwing fresh light on the achievements of this renowned scholar of the 10th century A.H. The author is Ibn-Hajar's favourite pupil, who was attached to him till his death.

The *Nadeem*, a monthly Urdu journal of Gaya (Bihar) has brought out a special number to commemorate the achievements of Khan Bahadur Syed 'Alī Muḥammad Shāh 'Azimābādī who was the most talented poet of Bihar. In a number of articles the journal has presented an appreciative study of the lyrics, elegy, and odes of this reputed poet, who died in 1927 A.D. Some of the contributions in this special issue are the following: (1) *Yādgār-i-Shād* by Dr. Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh; (2) *Shād 'Azimābādī and the Elegy*, by the Hon'ble Sir 'Abdul-Qadir, Chief Justice of the Bahawalpore High Court; (3) *Shād 'Azimābādī as a Scholastic of Islam* by Maulana Manāzīr Aḥsan, Chairman, Theology Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan; (4) *The Lyrics of the late Syed 'Alī Muḥammad Shād* by Dr. Zubair Siddiqi, Chairman of Islamic Studies, Calcutta University; (5) *A Critical Study of Shād 'Azimābādī* by 'Abdus-Salām Nadvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh; (6) *The Evolution of Urdu Poetry after the Mutiny and Shād 'Azimābādī's role* by Shāh Walīur-Rahmān, Deputy Magistrate and Collector, Bihar.

MAULANA Mājid Daryābādī has begun writing a series of articles on the life and works of Maulānā Ashraf 'Alī Thanvi. This laudable endeavour is the result of persistent demand from the enlightened public that the life of Hakimul-Ummat Ḥaḍrat Ashraf 'Alī should be written by Maulānā Mājid Daryābādī.

Khauja Aḥsan, ex-Inspector of Schools, U.P., one of the most favourite pupils of Hakimul-Ummat has already written a very voluminous book on the life of his Pir entitled *Ashraf-us Sawāneḥ*. Ḥaḍrat himself approved of this book as, beside other things, it had clearly laid down his principles and his new outlook on Sufism. The existence of this book was one of the reasons why Maulana Mājid hesitated in writing his life-study. Urged by the public he has started writing the life of Ḥaḍrat Ashraf 'Alī Thānvi, entitled *Hakimūl-Ummat*. It mainly consists of his impression and his expression of the great and pious soul.

Md. Ilyās Mujiḃī, the author of *aṣ-Ṣaḥabiyāt*, has compiled and edited a series of booklets on *Siyar-uṣ-Ṣaḥāba* mainly depending on Dārul-Muṣannifīn's *Siyar-uṣ-Ṣaḥāba*. He has already written several works and as many as eight are before us. In two of the books the life and history of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān have been written and in five others the life and history of other Muhajirīn, Anṣār, while in another book the history of Ḥaḍrat 'Umar ibn 'Abdul-'Azīz has been written. The books are very useful for school-going boys.

Professor Sayyed Nawab 'Alī has written a very informative book entitled *Qaṣaṣ-ul-Haq*. This book pointed out the untruths which have gathered round the stories about the creation of man, Noah's Ark, and innumerable other prophets mentioned in Bible and other ancient and divine books of Jews and Christians. After a thorough research the author has proved the stories in the Qur'ān to be correct and genuine. It has brought to light the distinctive features of Qur'ānic stories. He has taken pains to prove the historical truth and the moral elevation of Qur'ān, [a labour which speaks of his extraordinary zeal and insight.

A small book on *Rūḥ-e-Islām* by Syed Ḥasan Ārzū of Phūlwāri Sharīf, Patna, also deserves mention. He has explained in this book the spiritual benefit derived by fasting, prayer, Haj and Zakāt and also the worldly truths hidden in these religious matters.

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA .

The All-India Philosophical Congress.

THE 18th Session of the All-India Philosophical Congress was held last December at Lahore under the general presidentship of Professor P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras. Thanks to the organizing capacity and tireless efforts of Secretary of the local Reception Committee, Professor Qazi Mohammad Aslam, M.A. (Cantab.), Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, the session proved a great success. There was a separate section for Islamic Philosophy which received about a score of papers contributed by different scholars from all over the country. Some of these papers might suitably be mentioned here.

In a public lecture delivered before a large and distinguished audience, Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamīd, M.A., Senior Lecturer in Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, gave an exposition of "Iqbal's View of the Human Ego as a Creative Agent." The lecturer pointed out that although Iqbal's doctrine of Khudī or 'Egohood' was well-known, his view of the human ego as a creative agent had not yet received the attention it deserved. The lecturer dealt with this important aspect of Iqbal's thought, and argued that Iqbal's universe is a universe of egos, each ego being 'a finite centre of experience.' The egos, however, are not 'windowless' like Leibnitzian monads, nor are they 'made' once for all, like the atoms of old Physics. Reality is a process of 'becoming'; but this becoming again is not an Heraclitean flux, meaninglessly and mechanically determined. Iqbal's universe is ego-inspired and ego-determined. The supreme Ego is God, the author but not the moulder of the being of the finite

egos He has created. The human ego is to be self-creative, and its success in this respect is the measure of its destiny. This process of self-creativity is carried on in the midst of a partly sympathetic and partly hostile environment. Interaction results, but the self-creativity of the ego depends on how far it can choose and assimilate its environment in the interests of its own integration. Love is 'the principle of individuality and assimilative activity,' and as such it fructifies the ego. The ego's interaction with its environment is itself a creative process. It transmutes the environment in so far as it is merely physical, and ennobles and spiritualizes it in so far as it is human. Only highly integrated egos, however, are creative in this latter respect. Such an ego is a 'man of faith' *مرد مویس*; and he plays a decisive part in the cultural and spiritual progress of mankind. The moulding of such egos is the divine purpose, which inspired the creation of man.

The learned lecturer illustrated his argument with numerous quotations from the works of Iqbāl, and was much commended for his lucid and masterly exposition of the subject. His exposition was particularly valuable and authoritative in view of the fact that he enjoyed the inestimable advantage of frequently visiting Iqbāl during his lifetime and discussing philosophical matters with him.

Dr. Shaikh Ināyatullāh, M.A., Ph.D., Senior lecturer in Arabic language and literature and Islamic history at the Government College, Lahore, read an interesting paper in the Section of Islamic Philosophy on "Ibn-Hazm and his Psychology of Love as expounded in his work *Tauq al-Hamāmah*." Ibn-Hazm is usually remembered as a brilliant historian, an eminent jurist and a learned theologian; but it is not generally known that he was also a distinguished poet of refined and elevated taste and the author of a treatise on Love and Lovers, which testified to his being something of an authority on the subject of Love. After recounting the circumstances of Ibn-Hazm's early life, which he passed in an atmosphere of ease, luxury, beauty, and culture, and which gave him the necessary experience to write the work under consideration, the lecturer proceeded to give a brief analytical account of the work and a general idea of its contents. He selected a few topics discussed by Ibn-Hazm, and gave a brief exposition of Ibn-Hazm's views regarding them. The lecturer pointed out that the treatise of Ibn-Hazm was remarkable not only for its human interest but also for its earnestness of approach, its decency and elegance of expression and the high level on which the discussion of a delicate subject had been throughout maintained. The interest of the work is further enhanced by the inclusion of many pieces of poetry of great literary beauty, which are mostly the products of Ibn-Hazm's own genius. The lecturer finally declared that the scientific value of the treatise, combined with its literary charm, made it a rare gem of Arabic literature.

In the Section of Islamic Philosophy, which was presided over by Professor 'Umar-ud-Dīn of Aligarh University, Professor Zafar Ahmad

Siddiqī, M.A., of the Islamia College, Allahabad, also read a paper on *Mystic Elements in Iqbal's Philosophy*. According to the lecturer, Iqbāl considers human reason as an insufficient guide to lead us to the Ultimate Reality, and bases his philosophy on intuition or inner experience. He interprets the Ultimate Reality as pure duration in which thought, life, and purpose interpenetrate to form an organic unity. Iqbāl is opposed to the conception of God as universal life devoid of all personality and individuality, as pantheists would consider him. In the opinion of Iqbāl, all life is individual ; God Himself is an individual, the most unique individual. Another point which the learned lecturer discussed was the individuality of the human ego as taught by Iqbāl. The human ego is the custodian of individuality and a free personality. The very fact that the Infinite Ego has allowed the Finite Ego to emerge as a self-conscious entity show that in behaving as a free agent man is fulfilling the purpose of the Absolute as well as of his own. The moral and religious ideal of man, according to Iqbāl, is not self-negation but self-affirmation. Iqbāl is a vehement critic of that passive mysticism which teaches man to escape from the world and its struggles. He on the contrary believes that the human ego realises its infinite possibilities through overcoming the resistance of matter and ruling the world as the Vicegerent of God.

Dr. D. M. Donaldson had also sent a paper from Aligarh, which was read in his absence and was listened to with keen attention. Similarly Dr. Khalifā 'Abdul-Hakīm had contributed in *absentia* a learned paper, in which he had argued that "Systems, when they became closed, became fossilized and degenerated into orthodoxies. The greatest souls in Islam have always struck against stereotyped orthodoxies. Islamic Theism and the Islamic Idea of the dignity of man, into whom the spirit of creativehood was infused, is a sure guarantee of that eternal and creative dynamism which is the Essence of Life. Every stage which man has attained has to be transcended. Man lives and moves and has his being in the Infinite Creativeness of God. Man is made in the image of God ; and if God remains eternally creative, man must do the same."

New Publications.

Mr. Muḥammad Shafī' Kambōh of Lahore has recently edited and published a version of *Bhagvat Gīta* in Persian verse. Manuscripts of this version are found in several libraries of India and England, and even a lithograph edition had lately appeared at Lahore ; but its text was so unsatisfactory and its general get-up so wretched, that we are grateful to Mr. Kambōh for giving us this valuable and interesting work in a decent and elegant form. Both the print and *format* are pleasant and attractive. The editor has also supplied a useful introduction in which he gives the spiritual and historical background of the Gīta. He attributes this translation

to 'Allama Faiḍi, the poet-laureate of Akbar the Great ; but this view is not supported by sufficient evidence, and is open to serious doubt. This disputed point, however, does not detract from the intrinsic interest of this work, which holds a unique position in the religious literature of India and has influenced the thought of many generations of Indians. It is also valuable as an indication of the interest which Persian-speaking Muslim scholars took in the religious thoughts of India.

Shaikh Mubarak 'Alī, the well-known Oriental book-seller and publisher of Lahore, has recently brought out *Tadhkirat Kalimāt ash-Shu'arā'* of Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, who lived in the reign of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr Aurangzēb. The work consists of biographical sketches of poets who wrote in Persian from the time of the Emperor Jehāngīr to that of the author, along with specimens of their poetry. The author mentions many poets who were his contemporaries and whom he had personally known and met in life. He himself was a poet of no mean order. The work has been ably edited by Mr. Ṣādiq 'Alī-Dilāwar, M.A., a research scholar of great promise now working in the Punjab University. The text is based on five manuscripts, in the collation of which the editor has taken great pains. As a result, he has succeeded in producing an accurate and readable text. He also furnishes a brief Introduction to the text, wherein he gives a short life-sketch of the author and an account of the manuscripts he has used. Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl has supplied a Foreword in which he assesses the value of the *Tadhkirah* as a source of historical and literary information and welcomes its appearance in print, in view of the deplorable fact that very few *Tadhkirahs* of Persian poets of India have so far seen the light of day. The learned professor deplores the fact that the scholars of Iran and the Orientalists of Europe do not attach sufficient importance to the Persian poetry produced in India, which is consequently ignored by the learned world. He ascribes this depreciation and indifference to the narrow provincialism of the Iranian writers and the bad taste of the European scholars. But may we, in this connection, respectfully inquire when will our Indian Professors of Persian awake to their duty and start to retrieve from oblivion and rehabilitate the vast and varied contributions which India has made to Persian literature during the last thousand years ?

Sh. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

HINDUSTANI TAMADDUN (in Urdu)
by Dr. I. Topa, published by Azam Steam
Press, Hyderabad-Deccan; price Rs. 3-8-0.

IN the present days of war, it is pleasant to see that scholars are carrying on their work with constant zeal and earnestness; and their publications have placed us under a deep debt of gratitude. Among them we find Dr. Topa who is well known for the publication of historical books dealing with India, viz. "*The Growth and Development of National Thought in India, Politics and Pre-Moghul Times, Our Cultural Heritage*, etc.

In publishing this book, *Hindustani Tamaddun*," the author explains in his introduction that this volume is the first of the series which is intended more for the layman than for the students of history. We know that the average Indian has neither taste nor appetite for voluminous works, but nevertheless he would like to know the cultural development of his mother country. This volume admirably fulfils the purpose of supplying to the average reader essential information in a compendious and digestible form. Besides, the book is written in a simple, clear and cogent style. The author shows us a thorough grasp of facts and marshals them with much skill.

From 1922 our knowledge of ancient period of Indian history has increased very much on account of the discovery of the Indus Valley civilization. Scholars are trying to convert the process, that is, study Indian history as a process of Indianisation of the Aryan civilization.

This has revolutionised the whole aspect of the study of history so much that we find that Dr. Mazumdar has been trying to prove and identify the Indus Valley civilization with the Dravidian civilization.

In this book the author gives us a clear study of the complex details of the various elements composing the ancient civilization and also that each such element contributed to the production of the complex and the compound synthesis of the name of Ancient Civilization. He has traced the general trend of this process and brought many a problem to light.

The author thinks that it would be quite an erroneous way of looking at the ancient civilization as static. The ancient society of India was never static and even from its inception it was not intended to be that, while all through the ancient period it was flexible and developed according to the circumstances reacting to socio-cultural influences of different patterns.

It is unfortunate that the book is impaired by many mistakes due to printer's carelessness. We also feel that this work could have been more authoritative if references to the sources had been given, wherever relevant, and also a bibliography could have been added. In spite of these drawbacks we feel sure that this book would prove very useful to the college students. In fact, it is only this book which deals with the cultural aspects of ancient India in Urdu language for which the author deserves our best compliments.

K. S. L.

THE ARABIC CIVILIZATION by Joseph Hell; translated by Khuda Bakhsh; published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf; *Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore*, pp. 140; price Rs. 6.

THIS is a reprint, with rather a high price for a book of Indian standard, of a well-known work by a German Orientalist, first rendered into English in 1925. The original is now out of date. Anyhow it gives an initiation to the beginner in the vast realm of Arab civilization. Unfortunately, however, the German author shows himself the worst type of a Christian missionary, and does not care to be consistent even when speaking of the Prophet. So, when forced by facts, he has to admit:

"Against heathenism he strove, in the name of Allah, to improve marriage laws, to humanize material conditions; to end the worship of idols; to stop the killing of new-born girls; to unite the tribes into one close-knit work of amity and concord; to bar the dreadful gates of war... to usher in an era of peace, happiness, good-will." (p. 34).

Or, at the capture of the City of Mecca,

"Mohamed treated the town with extreme leniency." (p. 33).

Or, again —

"In the face of these facts there is no question of the propagation of Islam by the sword." (p. 48).

Yet in the field of conjectures and surmises not a touch of responsibility is found in his pen. For instance, he asserts without blush:—

"About this time we clearly find, writ large 'love of power and vengeance' as cardinal points in the Prophet's programme." (p. 30).

Here and there the cryptic notes of the translator, "I do not accept this view" or "I do not agree with this," and the like, fall pathetically short of what was required.

Again, the translator does not make any distinction between footnotes in the original and those added by himself.

The German author has no great geographical perspective specially of Arabia. So, according to him, there is only four days' journey between Mecca and Madīna (p. 21), whereas it is 12 days' journey in fact. Or "the valley of Arafā—(read: 'Arafāt)—some miles north-east of Mecca, in Muzdalifa two hours journey from Arafā (sic), and in Mina 2 hours' journey further still..." (p. 13). In fact it is just the reverse. Leaving Mecca, one comes first to Mina, then Muzdalifa, and lastly to 'Arafāt.

Madīna does not command the two high roads of North Arabia (as the author would have us believe on p. 27). Madīna is much in the interior, otherwise the Prophet would not have required pacts with the tribes inhabiting Yanbū' and the adjoining country before closing the caravan route of the Meccans.

There are numerous misspellings, e.g., Saja'ah (p. 39) instead of Sajāh; Wadiul-Qur'a (p. 48) instead of Wādīl-Qurā; Ghorash (p. 50) instead of Jurash; Uqaz and Dhul-Majas (p. 14, etc.) instead of 'Ukāz and Dhul-Majāz. On page 66, line 11, he must mean Khālid the learned prince and not Yazid, his father.

The statement that "The collection of Bukhari (d. 872), and that of Muslim, are the oldest in point of time" (p. 91)—is a misleading assertion! Even in the motherland of the author, the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin possesses the copy of *Ṣaḥīfah* by Hammām ibn Munabbih, who died sixty-three years before the birth of al-Bukhārī. It can authentically be said that works lost to posterity are of much earlier date. Not only the *Ṣaḥīfah Ṣādiqah* of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Ās was composed in the very lifetime of the Prophet but Anas ibn Mālik was reported, on the authority of *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥakīm, to have read his compilation, from time to time, to the Prophet and ascertained that nothing was recorded mistakenly there. (Vide the article of Prof. Manāzīr Aḥsan in the *Osmania University Journal of Research*, Vol. VII, for further details).

The assertion that "through conquests Muslims had become acquainted with the laws of Justinian," (p. 92),—is a mere wishful thinking!

Some interesting data are no doubt disseminated in the book, which deserve being brought into relief, e.g.:

"Gibbon says that in 1039 'it was found necessary to transcribe an Arabic version of the *Canons* of the Council of Spain for the use of Bishops and clergy in Moorish kingdoms.' The version in question is dated 1049, and is inscribed 'for the use of the Most Noble Bishop Daniel' (*Casiri*, Vol. I, p. 54)."

M. H.

WHY WE LEARN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE? by Shaikh Inayatullah, M.A., Ph.D.; published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

THE importance of Arabic language has been fully acknowledged by its forming popular subject of study among the Orientalists of 17th and 18th centuries. Edmund Castell, Simon Ockley, William Bedwell and others have written papers and emphasized the significance of Arabic studies from different points of view. The main object of European people in embarking on the study of Arabic seems to have been confined in its early days to its philological value in understanding the difficult passages of Bible and Old Testament which later on helped them to understand the spirit of Islam and Muslim people. This booklet presents a Muslim view-point on the importance of the language. This is a revised second edition of a paper which was originally published in this Journal. The main subject is divided into following headings:—

1. Arabic, a living language.
2. Arabic as the religious language of the Muslims.
3. Arabic as an international language.
4. Arabic as a corner-stone of Semitic philology.
5. Value of Arabic for Biblical studies.
6. Arabic, the language of the Jews.
7. Arabic studies among Jewish orientalists.

8. Greek authors in Arabic translations.

9. Importance of Arabic for universal history.

10. Importance of Arabic for the history of science.

11. Arabic in relation to other Islamic languages.

12. Relation of Arabic and Persian.

13. Relation of Arabic and Turkish languages.

14. Arabic element in Romance languages.

15. Arabic language in relation to Christianity and Christians.

This edition is distinguished from the first in that it provides greater information and useful footnotes, though, unfortunately, there are more misprints in this edition than in the previous one. The author has put together considerable relevant facts in answer to the question "Why we learn Arabic language?" The brochure is, therefore, worth studying for the Indian students in particular, who know little about the importance of Arabic.

As the author has invited suggestions for the next edition, it may be pointed out here that there is no reference to the characteristics of the Arabic language which could make it possible to express an idea of modern inventions without seeking help of other languages. Nor does it throw light on the intrinsic qualities of the Arabic language, and its effect on the mentality of nation. Moreover, this booklet does not touch upon the highly important yet complicated question, why Arabic language rooted out the local language of Egypt and prevailed upon the Spanish in Spain in the middle ages, but failed to do so in Iran and North-Western India, although Persian and Urdu have adopted principles of Arabic grammar, prosody, considerable glossary and even Arabic script? The solution of this problem might have added more to the value of this useful pamphlet.

M. A. M.

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, ISLAMIC CULTURE, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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